The Unfortunate Court-Favourites OF ENGLAND,

Exemplified

In some Remarks upon the Lives, Actions, and Fatal Fall of divers Great Men, who have been Favourites to several English Kings and Queens; Namely,

I. *Peirce Gaveston* Earl of *Cornwall*.
II. *Hugh Spencer*, Earl of *Winchester*,
II. *Hugh Spencer* the Son, E. of *Gloucester*.
V. *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*.
V. *Henry Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*.
VI. *Thomas Woolsey*, Cardinal of *York*.
VII. *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*.
VIII. *Robert Devereux*, Earl of *Essex*.
IX. *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*.
X. *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Stafford*.

By *R. B.*

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Mary Ely

BRITISH MUSEUM

Jane Evans

The Kings and Queens of England *to whom the following Unfortunate Great Men were Favourites.*

I. PEirce Gaveſton Earl of Cornwal, Favourite to King Edward II.

II, & III. Hugh Spencer the Father, and Hugh Spencer the Son, both Favourites to King Edward II.

IV. Roger Mortimer Earl of March, Favourite to Queen Iſabel, Widow to King Edward II. and Mother to King Edward III.

V. Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham, Favourite to King Richard III.

VI. Thomas Woolley Cardinal of York, Favourite to King Henry VIII.

VII. Thomas Cromwel Earl of Eſſex, Favourite to King Henry VIII.

VIII. Robert Devereux Earl of Eſſex, Favourite to Queen Elizabeth.

IX. George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, Favourite to King Charles I. and King James I.

X. Thomas Wentworth Earl of Stafford, Favourite to King Charles I.

To the Reader.

NOthing is more obvious than that Ambition, Envy and Emulation are the usual Attendants on the Courts of Princes, and that the effects of them have been often very fatal to many Great Men, who had the fortune to have a larger share in their Masters affections than others. It is likewise as notorious, That there are certain Crises of Government, wherein Princes have been obliged to Sacrifice their darling Ministers either to their own safety or to the importunity of their People. Lastly it is as evident, That some Court-Favourites have justly merited the unhappy Fate they met with, for their many Rapines, Insolencies and Enormities, as that others have been ruined meerly from the Caprichio or inconstant Temper of the Prince whom they served. Of all these, in my opinion, the ensuing Favourites are pregnant Instances. But I shall leave the Reader to particularise them according to his own Judgment and will only add, That they are not all to be condemned as Criminal, meerly because they all happened to be unfortunate.

R. B.

Remarks

Remarks on the Life, Actions and Fatal Fall of Peirce Gaveſtone, *Earl of* Cornwall, *and Favourite to King* Edward *the Second.*

THAT Unhappy Prince, *Edward* the 2d. was certainly the moſt Unfortunate in his Favourites of any King of England, either before or ſince his Reign: The firſt and Fatal Favourite he had was in his Youth, before he came to the Crown, whoſe name was Peirce Gaveſton, born in Gaſcoigne, a Province of France, and for the good Service performed by his Father in the Wars in that Kingdom, his Son was taken into ſuch Favour at Court, that by K. Edward the Firſt's own appointment he was Educated, and made a Companion to the young Prince: And indeed his outward Accompliſhments ſeemed to render him worthy of ſuch great Honour, being a Perſon of a ſharp Wit, an excellent Shape, and of a valiant Temper, of which he gave notable proof in a Battel againſt the Scots, and for which they afterward bore him a mortal Hatred: But all theſe worthy Qualities were utterly defac'd and clouded by his vicious Inclinations, ſo that as to his Chriſtian and Moral Vertues, which are only really commendable in Men, Authors are very ſilent in mentioning them, though all give large accounts of his Faults and Immoralities.

And King Edward was ſo ſenſible, that his Son the Prince had been debauched by the corrupt Converſation of Gaveſtone, that ſome time before his Death he was baniſhed the Kingdom: And upon his Death-bed commanding the Prince his Son to repair to him

with all ſpeed to Carliſle in Cumberland, where he was with a great Army ready to invade Scotland: He gave him many worthy Admonitions, and much good Advice, particularly, That he ſhould be merciful, juſt, and kind, faithful in word and deed, an incourager of thoſe that were good, and ready to relieve thoſe that were in diſtreſs; That he ſhould be loving to his two Brothers Thomas and Edmund, but eſpecially to honour and reſpect his Mother Queen Margaret; That upon pain of his Malediction and Curſe he ſhould not preſume without common conſent to recall Peirce Gaveſtone from Exile (who for abuſing his tender Years with wicked practices by common Decree of the Nobility was baniſhed): He alſo added a ſtrange Injunction for a dying man, namely, That after his Death the Prince ſhould not preſume to take the Crown of England till he had honourably revenged the Injuries his Father had received from the Scots, and finiſht the preſent Expedition againſt them, and that he ſhould carry his Father's Bones about with him in a Coffin, till he had marched through all Scotland, and ſubdued all his Enemies, aſſuring him that while they were with him he ſhould be always victorious.

Laſtly; Whereas by the continual Attempts of Bruce King of Scotland, he was prevented from performing his Vow of going in Perſon for the recovery of Jeruſalem and the Holy Land from the Infidels, that he ſhould ſend his Heart thither accompanied with 140 Knights and their Retinue, for whoſe ſupport he had provided Thirty two thouſand pounds of Silver; That after his Heart was conveyed thither, he hoped in God all things would proſper with them; Adjuring the Prince upon pain of Eternal Damnation, that he ſhould not expend the Money upon any other uſe. After theſe Admonitions, and having taken an Oath of this vain Young Prince, to perform his Will, he gave up the Ghoſt.

After his Father's Death, the Son ſoon made it appear how little regard he had to perform his dying Requeſts,

Requeſts, and to ſhew what his future Behaviour was like to be, he in the firſt place revenged himſelf upon Walter Langton Biſhop of Cheſter, Lord Treaſurer of England, and Principal Executor of his Father's Laſt Will, whom he impriſoned in Wallingford Caſtle, ſeizing upon all his Eſtate, no man daring to intercede on his behalf, becauſe of the extream hatred which the King ſhewed againſt him, the Biſhop's Crime being only in uſing a modeſt freedom in K. Edward's days, in gravely reproving [illegible] for his miſdemeanours, and not ſuffering him to have what he required, to waſte prodigally upon his [illegible] Minion Gaveſtone, againſt whom he likewiſe made ſuch great and juſt Complaints, as occaſioned the impriſonment of the Prince, & the baniſhment of his leud Favourite.

Soon after the young King married Iſabel Daughter to Philip the Fair of France, the Match being concluded before his Father's death, and was now performed with extraordinary Magnificence at Bullen: At which Solemnity there were five Kings, namely, Philip the French King, the K. of Almain, the K. of Sicily, the K. of Navar, and K. Edward the Bridegroom, and four Queens, Mary Q. of France, Margaret the Q. Mother of England, her Daughter the Q. of Navar, and Iſabel the Bride, Q. of England: There were likewiſe preſent a great number of Perſons of Honour and Quality, and among them the beloved Peirce Gaveſtone, who was entertained with the tendereſt affection imaginable by K. Edward; but the Nobility had ſuch a deteſtation of him, that they reſolved to have hinder'd the Coronation of the King and Queen, which ſoon after followed, had not King Edward ſolemnly promiſed to give them a reaſonable ſatisfaction in the matter, yet was he ſo far from it, that none appeared more great in Attendants, Bravery, and all other grandeur, than Gaveſtone; and as a particular mark of Eſteem, the King ordered him to carry St. Edward's Crown before him at that Solemnity: This ſtill increaſed the Abhorrence of the Lords againſt him, who having

having the power and favour of the King on his ſide, ſlighted all their Attempts and Deſigns, and reſolved to provoke them to the utmoſt by abuſing, miſcalling, and ſcoffing at the chief Peers of the Land, naming Thomas Earl of Lancaſter, the Stage-player, Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, Joſeph the Jew, becauſe he was tall and pale; and Guy Earl of Warwick, the blackamoor of Ardern, all whom at a Tournament he abuſed in a moſt contemptible manner.

The King took little notice of theſe baſe Affronts, but rather encouraged his Inſolence, by heaping greater favours daily upon him; and Gaveſtone, to eſtabliſh himſelf, was ſtill contriving thoſe Diverſions which he knew to be pleaſing to his vain Mind; ſo that the Court was filled with Fidlers, Players, Jeſters, Flatterers, and all ſuch pernicious People as by ſenſualities and riotous practices might withdraw him from attempting any Noble Enterprizes in performance of his Father's Laſt Will, or for the good Government of his People, and led him into all kind of Debauchery and Diſſoluteneſs, while Gaveſtone himſelf revelled in all outward felicity, and waſted the Treaſure of the Kingdom in Riot and Folly, or elſe converted it to his private uſe, and likewiſe tranſported great Summs beyond the Sea, that he might have ſomewhat to truſt to, if Fortune ſhould happen to turn her back upon him, and force him to a ſecond Baniſhment.

And indeed he had ſo abſolutely and intirely ingroſſed the King's Favour, that he had thereby frequent opportunities of inriching himſelf, for all Addreſſes to the King for obtaining Offices, Honours, Pardons, or any other Advantages paſſed through his hands, who always eſpouſed their buſineſs not according to Juſtice, but by the value of the Preſents made him; and it is ſcarce credible to relate with what Prodigality the King ſquandred away his Money upon him; yea ſo prodigious was his kindneſs toward him, that he beſtowed on him the beſt Jewels, Gifts or

Rarities

Rarities that he had, nay, the Imperial Crown of his Victorious Father, and a very fine Table, and Stands all of pure Gold, with many other rich Ornaments, which Gaveſtone privately conveyed away, to the great damage of the Kingdom; Nay, he treated him by the name of Brother, and publickly declared, that if it were in his power, he would make him his Succeſſor to the Crown.

The Lords who had hitherto paſt by the private Affronts and Injuries they had daily received, in hope that the King might in time have ſeen his Errours, which they by their daily Admonitions endeavoured to make him ſenſible of, finding that he ſtill perſiſted in the ſame Courſes, which grew now intolerable, reſolved more plainly to remonſtrate the matter to him, telling him, That to their great grief they perceived that his Dotage and ill-placed Affection was unlimited toward Gaveſtone, a Perſon of a wicked and infamous Life, whoſe Father was a Traytor to the French King, and was hanged for the ſame: That his Mother was burnt for a Witch, and that he himſelf was baniſht for being a Confederate with her in her curſed Witchcrafts, and that they did verily believe he had bewitcht the King, or elſe certainly he could never retain ſuch an unreaſonable Paſſion for ſo profligate a Wretch: That they much doubted he would abuſe his Greatneſs ſo far as to bring Foreigners into the Land to defend him in his lawleſs and deſtructive Courſes, to the utter Ruine of the Laws, Liberties and Eſtates of his Subjects; They therefore humbly deſire him to hearken to the Advice of his Peers, which would be both for his own Honour, and the Welfare of his People, and particularly, 1. That he would confirm and maintain thoſe Antient Laws and Cuſtoms which were contained in the Charters of the Kings his Predeceſſors. 2. That he would not force any man to part with his goods without payment of the full value thereof. 3. That whatever Money, Lands, Jewels, or other valuable things had been given away or alienated from

from the Crown ſince his Father's death might be reſtored. 4. That he would remember the Oath he had taken to his Father before his death not to recall Peirce Gaveſton from his Baniſhment: And for proſecuting the War againſt Scotland, and that he would rectifie all that had hitherto been amiſs, that ſo his Enemies might have no cauſe to rejoice, nor his Friends be any longer troubled and diſquieted: Laſtly, That no man ſhould be reſtrained by the King's Writ from proſecuting his Suits in any Court of Juſtice, for defending his Right and Property, but that Juſtice might be impartially adminiſtred throughout the Kingdom both to Rich and Poor, according to the antient and approved Conſtitutions, Cuſtoms and Laws of England.

The King taking Counſel of Peirce Gaveſtone and his Complices, commanded the Lord Chancellor to tell the Lords that he would give them ſatisfaction to their demands at the next Seſſion of Parliament. The Barons were no ſooner gone out of London to their own homes, but the King ordered the Gates of City to be ſhut, and the Streets to be chained, and and ſtrict Watch to be kept, & then with ſome Forces, both Engliſh and Foreigners, marched in company of Gaveſton to Wallingford Caſtle, and as his Conſcience did not trouble him for the breach of his Oath, ſo their diſlike increaſed his love to Gaveſton, for none but Gaveſton muſt do all, and nothing was acceptable nor grateful but what came from his hand. However the King's laviſhneſs having quite emptied his Exchequer, he was compelled to comply with the Parliament at their next Meeting in London, ſo far as to paſs an Act for Gaveſton's perpetual Baniſhment, and for ſecuring the Liberty of the Subject, and the due execution of Juſtice, which the King confirmed by a ſolemn Oath, and for which they gratified him with a ſubſidy of the twentieth part of their Eſtates. In purſuance of this Decree Gaveſton is ſent by the King into Ireland, himſelf accompanying him in Perſon as far

far as Briſtol, and giving him a Commiſſion to be Chief Governor of that Kingdom, beſtowing likewiſe on him no leſs then thirty two Towns in the Province of Gaſcoign in France, and furniſhing him with men and money ſufficient to ſecure himſelf againſt his Enemies, creating him Baron of Wallingford, and Earl of Cornwal, and giving him the whole Revenue of that County as well as of Ireland; to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure, with ſuch ſtore of Plate and Jewels that he might well think his Baniſhment was but a ſplendid Ambaſſage, and an occaſion offered to the King by fortune to make him the more Rich and Honourable. He was no ſooner arrived there but the King ſent Meſſengers to him with his gracious Letters, requiring him to be cheerful and merry in his exile, aſſuring him that his troubles ſhould in the end be recompenced with greater dignities and favours than he had yet received, and indeed the King's mind was ſo fondly tranſported that he could not live without him, and the exigency of his affairs being over, he ſoon made it appear that what he had done againſt him was abſolutely contrary to his humour, and that his Heart went not along with his Tongue and Hand. He therefore ſends for him back, who arriving in Wales and coming to Flint Caſtle was there met by the King and received with ſuch extraordinary ſatisfaction as if the greateſt bleſſing of Heaven had been beſtowed upon him, and to fix him more ſtrongly if poſſible in his affections he Married him to Joan of Acres Counteſs of Gloceſter his Sifters Daughter, reſolving with himſelf to retain his Gaveſton in deſpight of all his Lords and People, and to adventure his Crown and Life in protecting of him from their diſpleaſure, wherein both the King and He ſhewed much indiſcretion, it being as equally dangerous for a Prince to ſhew extravagant love to his Favourite as for him to accept and make uſe of the ſame, and at length it proved fatal to them both. For Gaveſton who was naturally inſolent and ambitious being thus above his hopes or expectations advanced

advanced to an alliance with the Blood Royal, seemed now to endeavour if possible to exceed in his former outrages, and practised many more notorious Villanies than ever he had done before, wasting and consuming the King's Treasure with such monstrous profusion that he had not wherewithal to defray the ordinary expences of his Court or to provide necessaries for his Family. For he continually studied to supply the King's luxurious fancy with fresh and chargeable delights both in banqueting, costly Wines, and Lascivious dalliance, whereby he clouded his understanding, and vitiated his Soul; insomuch that he abandoned the Lawful Bed and Society of his Religious and Virtuous Queen, and gave himself up to the imbraces of wanton and impudent Harlots.

The Queen was extreamly grieved at these unsufferable wrongs and abuses, which she endeavoured to redress by her earnest Prayers to God, and her obliging demeanor to the King, but all her pains were fruitless, for the beams of her excellent endowments could not disperse the thick mists of his debauched temper, neither could her sighs nor tears soften his Heart hardned with the variety and continuance of sinning and the malevolent example of the cursed Gaveston. Neither were the Common People silent, but took much liberty to talk of these great misdemeanours of the King, who still continued resolute in those dissolute courses to which he inticed him. The Queen being thus abused both in her Honour and Maintenance, having not a sufficient Maintenance allowed her by the predominant Gaveston to support her Royal Dignity, sends her complaints to her Father the French King, and the Abbot of St. Dennis in France being sent as the Pope's Legate, to demand the Legacy that the King's Father left for the recovery of the Holy Land, used his earnest importunities with him to banish that lewd Companion Gaveston from his Court and Kingdom, with whose Conversation all Mankind that had converse with him were infected, but all was in vain. After this

this the King Summoned a Parliament to meet at Northampton, deſigning to go from thence to Scotland. The Barons came thither well armed and guarded, of which the King having intelligence ſent them word he would not come, yet at laſt he came as far as Stony-Stratford, to whom the Lords ſent the Earls of Warwick and Clare, with their earneſt intreaties that for his own ſafety and the benefit of the Kingdom he would appear at his Parliament. Whereupon he was prevailed with to come in the Habit of an Eſquire, and the Lords were preſent unarmed, and in concluſion an happy agreement was made, and the Expedition to Scotland laid aſide for the preſent.

Soon after the Parliament aſſembled at London, to which came Lewes Brother to the French King, and the Biſhop of Poictou, to endeavour to ſettle a laſting Concord between the King and the Peers. At this Parliament many good Laws were Enacted, and among others one for baniſhing Peirce Gaveſton once again, which the King was obliged to paſs tho' ſore againſt his will, with this condition added by the Lords, That if he were ever found again in any of the King's Dominions he ſhould be taken as a Common Enemy, and executed by Martial Law without any farther Tryal.

Hereupon Gaveſton went into France, but that King being his ſworn Enemy upon the account of the Queen his Daughter, he durſt not continue long in any one place, but wandred from one Country to another ſeeking for Reſt but could find none. Wherefore having ſtill confidence in the love and favour of the King, whoſe Siſter he had Married, he (with many Foreigners) adventured once more to England having ſcarce been abſent three months, and coming to the King who then kept his Chriſtmaſs at York, he was received and entertained with the former endearedneſs, and ſo much joy, that an Angel from Heaven could not have been more welcom to the King, who inſtantly made him Principal Secretary of State.

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The Queen, Nobility and People were all mightily disturbed at Gaveston's return, and the Lords perceiving the irreclaimable Temper of the King, they consulted how to put an end to those notorious mischiefs, and at length concluded that there could be no peace in the Kingdom while Gaveston was alive. Hereupon they resolved to venture their Lives and Estates for the destruction of this infamous Forreigner, who seemed to design nothing but the utter ruin of the Nation. Pursuant to which resolution they constitute Thomas Earl of Lancaster to be their Leader, and put themselves in Arms, but being sensible of the miseries of intestine Wars, they were willing, first to try all peaceable Expedients, and therefore several Great men were sent with an humble Petition to the King at York, requesting him to deliver into their hands, or drive out of his Company and Kingdom the wicked Gaveston, assuring him that they were all of opinion that he would never have any Money in his Exchequer, nor any love for his Queen, whilst that prodigate stranger was in so much Grace, and threatning that if he did not gratifie them in their requests, they would renounce their Allegiance, and prosecute him as a perjured Prince. But the obstinate King would not condescend to their desires, resolving to lose all rather than part with his dear Gaveston; and therefore he instantly sent for several Forcign Souldiers, and having hired three hundred Horsemen commanded by the Earl of Hannow and the Viscount Foix, in their passage through France for England, they were seized by that King, who kill'd most of the Souldiers and hanged up the Officers. He then solicited aid from Robert Bruce King of Scotland, from Robert Fitz Thomas a Great man in Ireland, and likewise from the Welsh, but they all denied to give him any assistance against his Barons. Whereat being inraged he fortified Windsor Castle, and built Forts in several other parts of the Kingdom. The Lords likewise raised Forces, and resolved to march toward York, from whence

whence the King was gone to Sea for his recreation, leaving Gaveſton behind him, who lodged in the Caſtle, and cauſed that and the City alſo to be ſtrengthned with new Fortifications. The Barons rendezvouſed at Bedford, where they made Gilbert Earl of Gloceſter Lord Keeper of England, and ordered ſtrict Guards to be ſet upon the Sea-Coaſts for preventing any Foreign Forces from landing to aſſiſt the King. From hence they proceeded to York, at whoſe approach Gaveſton fled from thence to Scarborough, the Lords purſued him thither, and Beſieging the Town they quickly took it, and made him a Priſoner, committing him to the Cuſtody of Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, who carried him to a Village called Dathington between Oxford and Warwick, deſigning to have conveyed him the next day to Wallingford Caſtle, and going that night to lodge with his Counteſs who was hard by, the next morning Guy Earl of Warwick with a ſtrong Party took him away from thence and brought him to Warwick Caſtle. And the Lords having called a Council of War it was unanimouſly reſolved by the Earls of Lancaſter, Warwick and Hereford that he ſhould be inſtantly put to death, as a ſubverter of the Government, and a notorious Traytor to the Kingdom. And thereupon he was carried to a place called Blacklow, and afterward Gaveſhead, where he was beheaded in the preſence of the Lords aforementioned in 1312. His Body was by the Friers Predicant conveyed to Oxford, and there kept above two years, till the King cauſed it to be removed to Kings Langley in Hartfordſhire, where he in perſon (to demonſtrate his endeared affection to him dead as well as living) attended with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, four Biſhops, with many Abbots and principal Clergy Men, cauſed him to be interred in the Friers Church which he had built, with all manner of Funeral Pomp and Solemnity: Few or none of the Temporal Lords being preſent, whoſe great Hearts could not comply to honour him being dead whom they

they ſo mortally hated when alive. This was the fatal end of this ungracious Favourite, who if he had uſed moderation and diſcretion might have long enjoyed the grandeur to which he had arrived, but the publick wrongs he was guilty of, together with the private and perſonal abuſes offered to the principal Nobility, made him odious and abhorred, no injuries being harder to be forgiven or forgotten than Scoffs and Jeers at mens Perſonal defects, which have occaſioned the deſtruction of many in all Ages, and made this unfortunate man dye unpitied and unlamented, being reckoned to fall a juſt Sacrifice both to publick and private vengeance.

Remarks on the Lives, Actions and Fatal Fall of Hugh Spencer *the Father Earl of* Wincheſter, *and* Hugh Spencer *the Son, Earl of* Glocester, *Both Favourites to King* Edward *the Second.*

INnumerable are the miſchiefs that a Kingdom is ſubject to, which is governed by a perverſe and wilful Prince, which commonly occaſions great calamities both to himſelf and his People, and of which we have ſcarce a more pregnant inſtance than in the Reign of that unhappy King Edward the ſecond, who though he had ſuffered ſo many troubles for his inordinate and unreaſonable favours to Peirce Gaveſton; and by whoſe removal the Nobility ſeemed ſo well contented, that he might now have ſettled himſelf and the Realm in Peace, yet his violent nature was ſuch, that inſtead thereof he made it his Study how to deſtroy thoſe Lords who had deprived him of his beloved Gaveſton,

veſton, whoſe death ſo afflicted him that he ſeemed as if he had loſt half of himſelf, and whoſe Blood he deſigned to revenge upon them to the utmoſt, as the only means to revive his languiſhing Spirit, and remove the mourning and ſorrow that had lain upon his mind ever ſince his fatal Fall. The Barons were very ſenſible of his rage and diſpleaſure againſt them and therefore reſolved not to lay down their arms till they had ſufficiently provided for their future ſecurity, and ſettled the Government upon its antient and legal foundation.

This unnatural diviſion between the King and his Peers was much heightned by the ill Offices of the Queens Kindred and Countrymen the French, who coming over in great numbers to attend the ſolemnity of the Baptizing the King's Son (afterward the Victorious King Edward III.) who was about this time born at Windſor, they ſo aggravated theſe proceedings of the Lords againſt him, that he who was too much inflamed before, ſeemed now irreconcileable to them. So that nothing but the miſeries of an Inteſtine War were expected. To prevent which, the young Queen, the Biſhops and ſome other Noblemen, procured an enterview between them, where the King ſharply charged the Barons for their rebellious and preſumptuous taking up Arms againſt him, and for ſeizing and wickedly murdering his dear and faithful Friend Peirce Gaveſton: The Lords reſolutely anſwered, That they were not guilty of Rebellion, nor had done any thing but what deſerved his Royal thanks and favour, ſince they had not raiſed any Forces againſt his Sacred Perſon but only in their own defence, and to bring to Juſtice that impious Traytor Peirce Gaveſton the publick Enemy and Fire-brand of the Realm. But though both were very fierce in words, yet the Queen and Biſhops uſed all manner of means to prevent their coming to action, and by their inceſſant endeavours wrought ſo effectually, that the King ſeemed willing to be pacified if they would acknowledge

ledge their Fault. And the Lords for preventing the dangers which now threatned them from Robert Bruce King of Scotland, were contented to make their humble submissions to the King in open Court at Westminster, and desired him to forgive all their offences against him; which the King graciously granted them offering his Pardon to all that would Petition him for the same. Upon which happy agreement, the Parliament then sitting being sensible of the King's great want of money, freely granted him a fifteenth of their Estates for his support. But Guy Earl of Warwick did not long survive this happy union, being secretly Poisoned, as the Lords reported, by some of the King's Friends.

The Office of Lord Chamberlain being vacant by the death of Peirce Gaveston, the Nobility recommended Hugh Spencer the younger to the King to succeed in his place, because he had been formerly of their Party, and they did not doubt but he would be a very faithful Counsellor. But as the Proverb says, Honours change Manners, for though the King before hated him, yet he soon insinuated himself so far into his weak Mind, that he became as intimate a Favourite, and succeeded in all the Graces, Familiarity and Power of his Predecessor, as well as in the Hatred and Envy of the Nobility and People, occasioned by his Insolence, Ambition and Lewdness, wherein he seemed to equal if not exceed the Wicked Gaveston, and thereby rendred himself so acceptable to the vitiated Soul of King Edward. Hugh Spencer his Father an antient Knight was yet living, and accounted a Person of great vertue, a wise Counsellor, and a Man of Valour, but seeming very forward in promoting his Son's Interest and Grandeur, he was likewise introduced into Court, and in great favour with the King, so that he was made partaker of the guilt and calamity of his Son, rather out of Natural and Paternal Love and Tenderness, than from the wilfulness or depravity of his Mind.

But

But young Spencer, was not of a more lovely ſhape and comely Perſonage, than he was of a profligate and flagitious temper: The Spirit of Pride, Rapine, Oppreſſion, and all the moſt intolerable vices ſeeming to have wholly poſſeſt him. So that in compariſon of him the People were ready almoſt to wiſh for Gaveſton again. By his lewd advice the K. purſued his former courſe of Debauchery, ſpending his Time and Treaſure among laſcivious Harlots and Concubines, and utterly renouncing the ſweet Converſation of his excellent Conſort, which made him a ſcorn to Foreign Princes, and hateful in the ſight of all Civil Men. He was the cauſe of the ruin of divers Widows and Fatherleſs, of the deſtruction of many Noblemen and Gentlemen, and at length of the utter overthrow and confuſion of Himſelf, his Father, and the King alſo.

This evil management of Affairs cauſed new diſcords between the King and his Nobility, whereby many miſchiefs happened in the Kingdom, and their Enemies had a fair opportunity to put in practice their deſigns againſt them. Among others, the Scots having joyfully Crowned the valiant Robert Bruce for their King, reſolved to uſe their utmoſt efforts for recovering their Country and Liberties, which had been Raviſhed from them by the valiant King Edward I. who had made an entire Conqueſt of their Kingdom, and appointed John Cummin Earl of Buquan a Scot, to be Governour thereof for the Engliſh. Him King Robert had vanquiſht in Battel, and was now grown ſo powerful, while King Edward was buried in ſoft and unmanly luxury and delight, that he ſent his Brother Edward to Beſiege the Caſtle of Sterling, which bold attempt began to awaken the King of England out of his deſtructive Slumbers: So that with all ſpeed raiſing a very potent Army, he with all diligence marched toward the relief thereof. Hector Boerius the Scots Hiſtorian gives a very ſurprizing account of the number of Soldiers that King Edward carried with him to this Siege, which he reckons to be one hundred and

fifty thousand Horsemen, and as many Foot; and because this may seem incredible, he adds, That besides the English, he had likewise the assistance of the Hollanders, Zealanders, Flemings, Picards, Boulonois, Gascoigns, Normans, and many more from other Provinces in France, and other Countries: Besides which three hundred thousand Men of War, he relates that there were a vast multitude of Women, Children, Servants, yea whole Families, with their Houshold-stuff which followed the Camp; wherein this Author may be thought to have designed the magnifying the Valour of his Countrey-men, who with far more inconsiderable Forces defeated this mighty Host.

His Darling Spencer accompanied the King in this Expedition, but the Earls of Lancaster, Warren, Warwick and Arundel, the greatest Peers of that Age, positively refused to attend him, since He and his Evil Ministers continued their Invasions and Depredations upon the Liberties and Estates of the People, notwithstanding the provisions they had so often made, and he had so often consented to for securing the same: And as this must needs diminish his strength, so it likewise deprived him of their Counsel and Conduct, which was so absolutely necessary in Military Affairs: However, his number of Men was sufficient, if Multitude without Discipline, Piety, or Courage, could always obtain Victory: But K. Edward and his Army seemed rather to be going to a Wedding or a Triumph, than to engage a rough and hardy Enemy for their Targets, Bucklers, and other Habiliments of War, were so glorious with Gold and Silver, and their bright Armour gave such a dazling lustre against the Sun-beams, as raised wonder in the admiring Spectators, and seemed very much to correspond with the wanton Humour of the Prince: And herein it is very apparent what great Advantages true and sober Courage usually obtains against vain Gallantry, and ungrounded Confidence: King Robert with

with his Forces (which were much inferiour to the Engliſh) being incampt near King Edward's, he publiſhed a ſtrict Order the Evening before, That his Souldiers ſhould prepare themſelves for Battel the next day, and that they ſhould make humble Confeſſion of their ſins and offences in order to the receiving of the Bleſſed Sacrament; and then no doubt the Lord of Hoſts would give them Victory, ſince they deſigned only to free themſelves from the many woful Calamities which they had ſuffered from the Engliſh, and to recover the Liberty and Freedom of their Countrey.

Far otherwiſe was it in the Camp of K. Edward; for the Scots having the day before ſurprized and cut off ſeveral Engliſh Horſe-men, he was ſo far from being diſcouraged at ſuch a ſlight preſage of ill Fortune, that he reſolved the very next day to take a terrible Revenge upon them, of which he had ſuch a confident aſſurance, that he triumpht before the Victory, his Souldiers drinking, carouſing, and threatning their Enemies with the utmoſt Cruelties that could be executed upon them: But the Scots, to obviate their ſtrength by Policy, had digged before the Front of their Battalions ſeveral Trenches three foot in depth, and as many broad, wherein they placed ſharp Stakes with their points upwards, and covered them over ſo exactly with Hurdles, that Foot-men might paſs lightly over, but Horſe would certainly ſink in, and this Stratagem next to the Anger of Heaven againſt the Engliſh for their Vain-glory and Effeminacy, was the principal cauſe of the Defeat of King Edward, for he repoſing much Confidence in his Cavalry, the fury of their firſt Charge was intercepted and ſtopt by theſe Pit-falls, into which the Horſes plunging in great numbers, the Riders were miſerably deſtroyed with much eaſe by the Scots, whom King Robert marching on foot in the head of, led on with the utmoſt Courage and Gallantry: The King of England had marſhall'd his Army in very good Order, but this unexpected

pected and diſmal Diſcomfiture of his Horſe in thoſe miſchievous Ditches, utterly confounded all his meaſures, ſo that he was compelled after ſome diſordered Reſiſtance, to leave to the Scots the greateſt Victory that ever they obtained againſt the Engliſh in any Age either before or ſince: King Edward could hardly be perſuaded to make his Eſcape, it being the firſt time that ever he diſcovered any ſymptoms of the Courage of a Valiant Engliſh King; but at length being over-perſuaded by his Friends, himſelf and his cowardly Favourite Spencer, whom K. Edward's own Hiſtorian calls, A Faint-hearted Kite, fled with all ſpeed to place of ſafety. All things proved unfortunate in this Battle, for when the Foot perceived the Horſe in that wretched condition, they ſhot their Arrows at the Scots, who came to kill them, but they being Armed in their fore-parts, received little or no damage, ſo that they ſlew a great number of their Friends whoſe backs were towards them unarmed: The loſs fell much upon the Nobility, for there was ſlain in this Battel Gilbert Clare Earl of Gloceſter, a Man of ſingular Valour and Wiſdom, the Lord Clifford, with ſeveral other Peers, beſides ſeven hundred Knights, Eſquires, and Officers of Note: The ſlaughter of the reſt could not be great, ſince the Scots fought on foot: Hector Boetius ſaith, There were 50000 Engliſh kill'd, though no other Author will allow of above 10000. The Riches and Plunder taken, doubtleſs was very valuable. Among the Priſoners, the chief was Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, who was after exchanged for King Robert's Queen, who had been long time Priſoner in England.

This Battel was fought at a place called Bannocks Boum near Sterling in Scotland, on Midſummer day, June 24 1314. and King Robert having been formerly Reſident in England, Treated the Priſoners with all kind of Civility, and ſent the Bodies of the Earl of Gloceſter, and Lord Clifford, to England, to be honourably buried with their Anceſtors: From this

his Overthrow King Edward and his Minion Spencer made their Escape to Berwick, and came from thence to York, where he publickly declared, That he was resolved instantly to raise new Forces, and to regain the Honour he had lost, or else to lose his Life in the Attempt: But all his Designs of that kind proved utterly fruitless: For soon after the strong, and almost impregnable Castle of Berwick, was treacherously betrayed into the hands of King Robert by one Peter Spalding, whom the King of England had made Governour thereof, but he instead of the promised Reward was hanged by the King of Scots for his Treachery: After this the King raised another Army against the Scots, but received a second great and unhappy Overthrow, returning home with much Ignominy and Shame, leaving his Subjects in the North distrest and unrelieved from the continual Ravages of their Implacable Enemies the Scots, in as lamentable a manner as ever any People were abandoned by an unworthy and careless Prince.

Of these Disgraces, Losses and Troubles, we may make this useful Observation; That as the Heroick Virtues of exeellent Princes are usually crowned with Blessings from Heaven; so for the Iniquities and heinous Transgressions of wicked and ungodly Kings, both themselves and their Subjects likewise are severely punished by the Almighty, before whom Princes must fall as well as common Men, except their true and hearty Repentance, with amendment of their Lives, do procure his Mercy and Favour before it be too late: And indeed the Hand of God seem'd now stretcht out against this Kingdom; for about this time so great a Pestilence and Mortality happened, that the Living were hardly sufficient to bury the Dead. This was attended with a dreadful Famine occasioned by immoderate Rains in Harvest, which destroyed all the Corn almost throughout England, and at length the Dearth grew so terrible, that Horse-flesh was counted dainty Victuals: The Poor

stole

ſtole fat Dogs to eat them, yea ſome, compelled with hunger, ate their own Children, and others ſtole their Neighbours Children to eat them: Thieves in Priſon kill'd and tore in pieces thoſe that came newly in, and greedily devoured them half alive: As for Cows, Sheep, Goats, *&c.* they were generally rotten and corrupted by eating the Graſs, which was infected as it grew, ſo that thoſe who eat of them were poiſoned.

But neither theſe woful Viſitations, nor the innumerable diſhonours, afflictions and diſcontents under which the Nation lay, had any influence upon the King or his Miniſters, which gave encouragement to one John Poydras a Tanner's Son at Exeter, to attempt a very daring Enterprize, he boldly affirming himſelf to be the truly begotten Son of the laſt King Edward the firſt, and ſaid, That he was changed in his Cradle by his Nurſe for a Carter's Child, offering divers colourable Allegations to prove the ſame, and among the reſt, he ſtrongly inſiſted upon the unprincely and unworthy qualities and actions of the King, ſuch as none could be guilty of that was not of a mean, ſordid, and obſcure Birth and Deſcent. His confident Claim, and daring Aſſertions, quickly affected the Minds of the common People, ſo that many gathered to him and acknowledged him for their King: But at length he was apprehended, and having confeſt his Treaſon, he was Condemned and Executed for his folly near Northampton, declaring that he did it by the motion of a Familiar Spirit, whom he had ſerv'd three years in the likeneſs of a Cat. About the ſame time divers notorious Thieves and Robbers, near two hundred in number, being all clothed like Grey Friers, robbed, and murdered, and deſtroyed the Inhabitants of the North-Countrey, without regard to Quality, Age or Sex; but ſome Forces being ſent againſt them, took the greateſt part, who were deſervedly Executed for the ſame.

The Nobility and Gentry perceiving that the Diſtempers and Miſchiefs in the Realm did daily in-

creaſe

creaſe and grow more dangerous, they, like good Phyſicians, determined to ſearch narrowly into the Cauſes of all theſe Maladies, and to provide ſome Remedy for their Redreſs before it were too late; and the miſerable Oppreſſions and Violencies daily committed in their view, made them take courage to inform the King, That the two Spencers by their Miſmanagement and ill Conduct in the Affairs of State, of whom alone the King took Advice and Counſel, were the immediate and only occaſion of all thoſe Calamities and Misfortunes which now miſerably afflicted and diſturbed the whole Kingdom; and plainly told him, That they had ſo great an Intereſt in the King's Perſon and Govenment, that they judged themſelves bound in Honour and Conſcience to inform his Highneſs of all ſuch Miſdemeanours as were committed by any of his Subjects, which tended to the ſubverſion of the State, and to the diſturbing of the Publick Peace thereof: They concluded by humbly imploring his Majeſty, That he would be pleaſed to diſmiſs the two Spencers from his Preſence, Court, and Council for ever, who corrupted him with monſtrous Vices, and render'd him altogether careleſs and negligent in performing thoſe Royal Offices and Duties that God Almighty required at his hands; for as ſubjection belonged to the People, ſo the King was likewiſe obliged to afford them Protection, which yet he had moſt diſhonourably and unconſcionably neglected, by expoſing his Subjects in the North to the Rage and Fury of the Scots, and to all the Extremities of Hunger and Want. And laſtly, That if he would not inſtantly diſcharge thoſe two careleſs and wicked Councellors from bearing any Office or Imployment in the Realm, they then muſt and would do it themſelves, though it were with the hazard of their Lives, and whatſoever elſe was dear to them in the World.

The King could nor chuſe but know that this briſk remonſtrance of the Barons about their Grievances

was nothing but Truth, and founded upon Honour Conſcience, and true Zeal for their Countrey, and wa as ſenſible that they were earneſtly reſolved to re form what was amiſs. But though his Countenanc proclaimed his inward diſcontent, and declared hi Intentions of ſurprizing and ruining thoſe Noblemen who diſcovered their hatred againſt his belove Spencers; yet he returned the Barons a favourabl Anſwer, aſſuring them all that was amiſs ſhould b redreſſed by the enſuing Parliament, which he would aſſemble with all ſpeed. The Lords ſeemed very much rejoyced at this Anſwer, (as well as the common People) but yet they very much ſuſpected that th King intended to ſeize and ſurprize them at that So lemn Meeting: To prevent which, they came to Lon don, attended with ſo many of their Friends and Te nants, all in the ſame Livery, as compoſed a gallan Army, ſufficient to ſecure them againſt any ſiniſte Attempts.

The King was much diſturbed to find himſelf thu prevented in his ſecret Deſigns, but his greateſt gri was, that he found himſelf unable any longer to de fend and protect his deteſted Favourites the Spencer for whom he had a more tender affection than fo his Queen, Children, and all his Friends beſide whom notwithſtanding he was compelled by the Pa liament to relinquiſh; by whom it was Enacted wi his conſent, That they ſhould be baniſhed the Kin dom, never to return again during their Lives, und penalty of High Treaſon.

This being concluded on, the Barons longing to ſ the Spencers under Sail, provided ſeveral Ships f their Tranſportation: Being gone, to the great ſa faction of the People in general, the King, inſtead redreſſing the remaining Grievances, wholly appl his thoughts how to be avenged of thoſe Lo that had forced him to comply in decreeing th Exile: And to declare his reſentment of it, wh he was informed that the younger Spencer hav

got a Squadron of Ships together, was turned Pirate in the Narrow Seas, Robbing and Plundering all Nations that he could meet with, but especially the Englisth Merchants, to the unspeakable damage of the Realm, having taken out of two Ships only, at Sandwich, goods to the value of 40000 pound: Upon which great Complaints were made, and many Petitions presented, that a Fleet might be set out for taking him and his Associates, and bringing them to punishment as Pirates and Robbers according to the Laws of the Land: He was so far from being concerned at it, or providing any Remedy, that he seemed very merry at the News, and soon after sent them a general Pardon of all their Crimes; and the more to despight and inrage the Nobility, he recalled them both from Banishment, and honoured them with more Dignities, Offices and Authority, than ever they had before.

These strange proceedings of the King, together with the notorious Injuries and Abuses which they daily suffered by the return and advancement of the two Spencers, who now defied their utmost Power, scorning and deriding them with the most pungent Affronts, were sufficient Warnings to the Lords to take timely care of their Safeties: Wherefore since neither Petitions, Submissions, nor any other Legal procedure could procure any Remedy of their repeated Wrongs, they raised a strong Army, and marcht into the Field, and the King with the two Spencers, and some few of the Nobility did the like. Before any Action between them, this odd Accident happened, procured, as was thought, by the Contrivance of the King, or his Evil Ministers. A certain Knight belonging to John Earl Warren, stole away the Wife of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, one of the Chief of the Lord's Party, from his House at Caneford in Dorsetshire, and with great Pomp carried her to E. Warren's Castle at Rygate in Surrey, in despight of her L. and Husband, where one Rich. Maurice a wretched

lame, deformed Dwarf, challenged her for his Wife, pretending he had been formerly Contracted to her, and that he had lain with her. The Counteſs though the nobleſt and richeſt Inheritrix of that Age, confirmed his Allegations, openly declaring to her immortal infamy, that what he ſaid was true and thereby acknowledging her ſelf to be an impudent Strumpet. Upon which this deformed Elf (being incouraged by ſome great Perſons) had the confidence to lay claim to the Earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury in her Right, and the Honour of this great Earl was blaſted by a debauched Woman.

This unhappy paſſage increaſed the fatal averſion between him and the King, and the Earl, and Humfry Bohun Earl of Hereford, having likewiſe received ſome damage from the Spencers, theſe two allured almoſt all the reſt of the Nobility to join with them. So that being now gotten into Arms they marched with Banners diſplay'd under the command of the Earl of Lancaſter, whom they conſtituted their General, and after many ſharp skirmiſhes and encounters, the Armies met at Burton upon Trent, where both Parties fought with ſuch obſtinate deſire of revenge, that he was reckoned the moſt valiant man who drencht his Sword deepeſt in Blood. The Nobles now forgot that they fought againſt their Sovereign Lord, and the King would by no means acknowledge, that his Tyranny and Miſgovernment had compelled them to take Arms. Now neither Kindred, Alliance, Neighbourhood, Religion, Country, nor any other obligation had the leaſt power over their inraged minds. Nothing but death and wounds muſt determine the controverſie between them. At length when many of the Lords, and thouſands of their Adherents were ſlain, they fled, and were purſued by the King, the Earl of Hereford was ſlain by a Welſhman, who thruſt a Spear into his Body between the Chinks of a Wooden Bridge. The Earl of Lancaſter with eighty Lords and Knights were taken Priſoners.

The

The occaſion of this great defeat of the *Barons* is attributed in ſome meaſure to an unhappy accident a while before. For Queen Iſabel, who upon all occaſions uſed her utmoſt intereſt to procure a right underſtanding between the King and the Peers, coming from Canterbury to the Caſtle of Leeds in Kent, where ſhe deſigned to lodge that Night, was denied entrance by Lord Badleſmere one of the Earl of Lancaſter's Party, wherewith ſhe was ſo offended, that ſhe made great complaint thereof to the King, who glad of any opportunity to be revenged of the Barons, came in Perſon with a very ſtrong Party before the Caſtle, many of the Queen Friends, who were formerly on the other ſide joining with him. The Lord himſelf was gone with the reſt of the Noblemen to deſtroy the Lands and Eſtates of the two Spencers, having left his Wife and Children in the Caſtle, and a Captain to command there. After ſome time ſpent in the Siege, the Beſieged finding little hope of relief were forced to ſurrender it to the King at Mercy, who hanged five or ſix of the principal Perſons. And committed the Lord Badleſmere's Wife and Children to the Tower. After which many of the Barons miſdoubting their ſtrength, deſerted their Chief the Earl of Lancaſter, which now made the Victory the more eaſily incline to the King.

The third day after the Battle, the King reſolving to take his full ſwing of Vengeance upon the Barons, ſate in Judgment in Perſon at Pomfret Caſtle, together with the Earls of Kent, Pembroke, Surrey and the two Spencers. Before whom the Earl of Lancaſter and the reſt being brought, Sentence was pronounced againſt them to be drawn, hanged, and quartered as guilty of High Treaſon, by Andrew Harkley a man of ſmall fortune, but made Earl of Carlile, and Lord Chief Juſtice, for taking the Earl of Lancaſter and ſeveral other Lords Priſoners after the late Fight. The Earl of Lancaſter being the King's Uncle was only Beheaded the ſame day at Pomfret, but the other Lords

were hanged and quartered in ſeveral parts of the Realm. As the Lords Liſle, Touchet, Manduit, Bradburn, Fitz Williams, Cheyney at Pomfret. The Lords Clifford, Mowbray and Deynvile hang'd in Chains at York. The Lord Gifford at Gloceſter. The Lord Teys at London. The Lord Aldenham at Windſor, and the Lords Badleſmere and Aſhburnham at Canterbury. And ſeveral other Baronets, Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen were executed in other places. Never before did Engliſh Earth at one time drink up ſo much Blood of her Nobility and Gentry ſhed in ſo vile a manner, which whatſoever was pretended, was reckoned by the People to be ſpilt upon the account, and in the quarrel of the two Ravenous Favourites the Spencers, nor was it long unrevenged with the deſtruction of the principal Actors. After this the King likewiſe ſeized all their Eſtates as forfeited to the Crown.

This havock being made of the Nobility to the aſtoniſhment of the reſt, and the terror of the Vulgar, the Spencers were elated ſo intolerably with Pride by this Victory, that inſtead of making good uſe thereof, and reforming thoſe abuſes that might occaſion the like again, and giving the King good Counſel, they now proceed to commit greater Rapines and Violences than before, making their Will a Law in all things. And then preſuming that all affairs ſhould for the future be managed according to their pleaſure, they adviſe the King to call a Parliament at York, in which he created Edward his eldeſt Son Prince of Wales and Duke of Acquitain, He alſo created Sir Hugh Spencer the Father Earl of Winchester, and Sir Hugh the Son Earl of Gloceſter. And exacted the ſixth Penny of all Mens Eſtates and Goods to ſupport his intended Wars againſt the Scots, the levying of which Tax cauſed much murmuring and diſcontent among the People, who affirmed, That they were already totally impoveriſhed and ruined by War, Famine, and the diſordered Government of the King and his Evil Counſellors.

The

The King was fully perſuaded that his late Succeſſes had rendered him as terrible to the Scots as to his own Subjects, and that they were no way capable of reſiſting ſo great a Power as he had raiſed againſt them, reſolving now to call them to a ſtrict account for all their Inroads, Murthers and Robberies. The Scots being ſecretly inform'd that King Edward was intended to Invade their Country, and to revenge thoſe wrongs he had received from Robert Bruce their King endeavoured to divert him by landing a great Army in Ireland, but the King having timely notice of their deſign, made ſuch proviſion that the greateſt part of the Aſſailants were ſlain, and the reſt fled to their Ships and returned ſhamefully to their own Country.

The King after this marched with a very gallant Army into Scotland, and being arrived the Scots Nobility with ſome thouſands of men pretended to give him Battel, but intended nothing leſs: For at his approach they retired in good Order into the Woods, Forſts and Mountains of their Country, inſomuch that the Engliſh were quite tired, and diſpirited in purſuing them through thoſe difficult and uneaſie paſſages, ſo that in a ſhort time for want of Proviſions and Neceſſaries, and by reaſon of the Rains, Hail, Snow and Froſts, which are incident to that cold Region, the King's Forces were ſo afflicted with Sickneſs and Mortality, that they were obliged to retire without having performed any thing ſuitable to ſuch mighty preparations. Which when the Scots perceived they purſued them with much cruelty, and one night aſſaulted them with ſo much fury that the King himſelf very narrowly eſcaped, and finding his Forces broken, and his Army ſcattered, he was forced to ſave his Life by an ignominious flight, and to leave behind him his Treaſure, Ordnance, Tents and Furniture, a joyful prize to the Victorious Scots

This laſt diſaſter and danger was occaſioned principally by the Treachery of Sir Andrew Harkley the new made Earl of Carliſle, who under pretence of mak-

ing Peace with the Scots, ſecretly agreed to Marry the Daughter of King Robert, whereupon he was ſeized and carried to London in Irons, and being brought to the Bar before the Judg Sir Anthony Lucy, in the Robes of an Earl with his Sword girt, Hoſed, Booted and Spur'd, the Judg ſpake thus to him, 'Sir Andrew, 'the King for thy Valour and Good Service hath ad-'vanced thee to great Honour, and made thee Earl of 'Carlile, notwithſtanding which, thou as a Traytor 'to thy Lord and King, leddeſt a Party that ſhould 'have aſſiſted him at the Battel of Bayland in Scotland, 'away by Copland through Lancaſhire, by which 'Falſeneſs and Treaſon of thine our Lord the King was 'diſcomfited by the Scots, whereas if thou hadſt ar-'rived in time he might have gained the Victory. And 'this Treaſon thou didſt wilfully commit, for a great 'ſum of Gold and Silver which thou didſt receive from 'James Dowglas a Scot, and the King's Enemy. For 'which great Crime our Lord the King hath com-'manded that thou be deprived of the Order of 'Knighthood wherewith he hath honoured thee, for 'a terror to all other Knights, to avoid the like Trea-'chery. Then his Spurs were hewed from his Heels, and his Sword, with which he was Knighted and Girt when created an Earl, was broken over his Head, he was then unclothed of all his Robes of Honour and State, and his Coat of Arms defaced. After which the Judg proceeded thus, 'Andrew, thou 'art now no Knight but a Knave, and for thy Treaſon 'the King hath appointed that thou ſhalt be hanged, 'thy Head ſmitten off and placed on London Bridg, 'thy Bowels taken out and Burnt, thy Body quartered, 'and thy four Quarters ſet up in four principal Cities 'of England for an example to ſuch heinous Offenders. And this Sentence was accordingly executed upon him.

Thus ended this unfortunate expedition to the great reproach and loſs of the Engliſh, and the ſcandal of the King who was grown ſufficiently infamous already for making

making the Kingdom a ſhambles for the Nobility. Yet in the midſt of theſe calamities the two Spencers rid Triumphant in the Chariot of Favour, Power, Honour, and Riches, enjoying great part of the Eſtate of the late unfortunate Earl of Lancaſter, and in this grandeur they continued for the ſpace of five years, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of their potent, and numerous adverſaries, who continually meditated their deſtruction. During which time the Queens Intereſt extreamly declined, who for ſhewing ſome relentings for the ſeverity uſed to the Lords, and expreſſing her diſlike of the overgrown authority of the two wicked Favourites, by whoſe perſuaſions ſhe was ſenſible the King her Husband abandoned her Company and Bed, was extreamly hated by them. So that they continued their impious Artifices to allure the King with the Company and Dalliance of Leud and Laſcivious Harlots, and to avoid any converſe with her.

And it did appear that theſe evil minded and vile men, working upon the King's inclination, were the principal Authors and Adviſers of that ſharp revenge taken upon the Lords for their own ambitious, and avaritious ends, whereby at length they brought inevitable ruin upon the Crown, Dignity and Life of their Soveraign. Which the following inſtance ſeems plainly to confirm.

Among thoſe who were condemned for joining with the Earl of Lancaſter the King's Uncle, there was one very poor Fellow, for whoſe life becauſe he had long continued at Court, many great Courtiers interceeded very earneſtly, and preſſed the matter ſo far that the King in a rage replied. 'A plague upon you 'for a company of Curſed Whiſperers, malicious Back-'biters, Flatterers and wicked Counſellors, who can 'beg ſo heartily for ſaving the life of a notorious wick-'ed Knave, and yet could not ſpeak a word in the 'behalf of the moſt noble Knight Earl Thomas of Lan-'caſter my near Kinſman, whoſe Life and Counſels

'would now have been of great use and service to the 'Kingdom. Whereas this wretch the longer he lives, 'the more villanies will he commit, having already 'made himself notorious throughout the Realm for 'his horrid Crimes and desperate Outrages. For 'which (by the Soul of God) he shall dye the death he 'hath justly deserved. And he was accordingly executed. This may be some evidence that the King was overperswaded to commit those Tragedies upon the Lords, for he was reckoned to be naturally merciful, and [illegible] according to the Religion of those times, but [illegible] by depraved Counsellors, though he therein be inexcusable, since it is usually said, That good nature cannot satisfie for publick Errors and Mischiefs.

The Spencers still continued their Rapines and Profligate courses, and aspiring to more absolute Dominion, resolved to leave nothing unattempted that might rivet them in the affections of the King, and inrich themselves, which begot implacable enmity in the People both against them and their Master, their insolence rising to such an height that they abridged the Queen of her usual allowance, so that she had not wherewith to maintain her self, while themselves abounded in all manner of plenty and magnificence. Which caused her publickly to complain, 'That the Daughter and 'Sole Heir of the King of France was Married to a 'miserable Wretch, who did not allow her necessa-'ries, and that being promised to be a Queen, she 'was now become no better than a waiting Gentlewo-'man, subsisting only upon a Pension from the Spen-'cers. And dreading their malice she took her Eldest Son Prince Edward, and privately withdrew into France to her Brother King Charles, by whom she was kindly received, and comforted with solemn Oaths and Promises that he would effectually assist her against all her Enemies, and redress the grievances of the Kingdom. A while after the Barons by their Letters assured her of their best help and service to her

Self

ſelf and Son, declaring that if ſhe would return to England with the aid of only a thouſand valiant men at Arms, they would raiſe ſo great a ſtrength here to join them, as ſhould make the Spencers feel the ſmart of their unſufferable follies.

The Queen was exceedingly rejoiced with the hopes of her fortunate ſucceſs. But the two Spencers much doubting the event if ſhe ſhould return with Forces, and having the Treaſure of the Kingdom at command, they corrupted King Charles and his Council with ſuch prodigious ſums of Gold and Silver, and of Rich Jewels: that not only all ſuccour was denied her, but the French K. reprimanded her very ſharply for having ſo undutifully and imprudently forſaken her Lord and Dear Husband. Yea the Pope likewiſe (and many of the Cardinals) being ingaged with rich Preſents by the Spencers, required King Charles under the Penalty of Curſing to ſend the Queen and Prince to King Edward. And doubtleſs ſhe had been unnaturally betrayed by her own Brother, had ſhe not privately and ſpeedily made her eſcape to the Earl of Heynault in Germany, where ſhe was entertained with extraordinary joy by the Earl and the Lord Beumont his Brother who reſolved to accompany her to England.

In the mean time King Edward and his profligate Favourites having intelligence of their Intentions, he ſent to demand his Wife and Son to be returned home, but not ſucceeding, and the Spencers knowing that if an happy Agreement ſhould have been made between the King, his Queen, and the Barons, they muſt both have been made Sacrifices of Peace-Offering, to appeaſe the reſentments of the People; they therefore reſolve to make the Breach irreconcileable, by perſuading the King to proclaim the Queen and Prince, with all their Adherents, Traytors and Enemies to the King and Kingdom; baniſhing all that he thought were well-affected to them, and keeping a ſevere Eye over the diſcontented Barons; and it

was

was reported, That a ſecret Plot was laid to have taken away the Lives both of the Queen and her Son.

While the Queen continued in Heynault, ſhe concluded a Marriage between the Prince then about fourteen years old, and the Lady Philippa that Earl's Daughter, and with the Money of her Dowry Liſted Souldiers in Germany, and ſoon after with three hundred Knights and gallant Warriours, and about 1700 Common Souldiers, Germans and Engliſh, commanded by the Earl of Heynault, with the Earls of Kent, Pembroke, the Lord Beumont, and many other Engliſh-men of Quality, ſhe ſafely arrived at Orwell in Suffolk: Upon the firſt Intelligence of their Landing, the Lords and Barons, with joyful hearts, and numerous Troops of reſolute Gallants compleatly Armed, repaired to her Aſſiſtance with all ſpeed, ſo that her Forces hourly increaſed.

Her Arrival being reported to the King, He poor Prince was ſo ſurprized, that he knew not what courſe to take, being as deſtitute of Friends, and Means to defend himſelf, as he was of Courage and Counſel: However, he requeſted Aid of the Citizens of London, whoſe Anſwer was, That they would honour with all duty the King, Queen, and Prince their Son, who was lawful Heir to the Kingdom, but that they would ſhut their Gates againſt all Foreigners, and Traytors to the Realm, and with all their Powers withſtand them; but that they were not obliged to go out of their City to fight, no farther than that (according to their Liberties) they might return home again before Sunſet. This uncertain Anſwer ſo diſcouraged the King, that he reſolved to withdraw from the City to the Marches of Wales for the preſent levying of an Army, attended with his inſeparable Favourites the two Spencers, and Robert Baldock Biſhop of Norwich, their intimate Friend. Before he went he ordered the Tower of London to be fortified, which he committed to the Cuſtody of Sir John Weſton, who was well provided with Men and Victuals, leaving alſo to his

his care his younger Son, called Lord John of Eltham, with the Countess of Glocester, the King's Niece, Wife to the younger Spencer, and gave the Government of the City to Walter Stapilton, Bishop of Exeter (a Creature of the Spencers) his chief Treasure; and caused a Proclamation to be published, enjoyning all his Subjects to oppose, kill, and destroy all the partakers with the Queen, her self, her Son, and the Earl of Kent his half Brother only excepted. On the other side, the Queen made Proclamation, That no Person whatsoever should receive any hurt or damage from her Army, but only those two notorious Miscreants the Spencers, Bishop Baldock Lord Chancellor, and their Associates; and that she came over for no other end, but to bring to condign punishment those notorious Traytors and Misleaders of the King, promising a thousand pound to any who should bring her the Head of the younger Spencer.

The King had no sooner took his last leave of the City, and thereby of his Crown and Dignity, but the Londoners scorning to submit to their proud and insolent Governour, apprehended Stapilton, and two of his Servants, and without any Tryal or Judicial proceeding beheaded them at the Standard in Cheapside, with one John Marshal a Citizen and Friend of the Spencers: They likewise surprized the Tower, killing all that opposed them, and declared Lord John the King's Son, Keeper of the City, securing that and the City for the use of the Queen and the young Prince: All Prisoners throughout the Kingdom were likewise set at liberty, and all Fugitives, and banished Men recalled, which much augmented the Queen's Power.

The King hearing of this Revolt, altered his purpose of raising Forces: But whither could this poor Prince flie? What course could he take for his own safety? who, to gratifie a few profligate Miscreants, had made his Wife, his Son, his Nobility, and his People, his avowed Enemies: At length he concluded

ed to flie to Briſtol, which he fortified as ſtrongly as he was able, giving the Government of the Town to the Earl of Arundel, and Hugh Spencer the Elder, himſelf with the younger Spencer retiring into the Caſtle, which they reſolved to defend to the utmoſt.

The Queen marched from Oxford to Gloceſter in her way to Briſtol, which ſhe deſigned to beſiege, her Forces increaſing all the way: The Earls of Leiceſter and Marſhal, the Lords Peircy, Wake, and other Noblemen both from Wales and the North, with the Biſhops of Hereford, Ely and Lincoln, and a great number more of Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, coming in to her Aſſiſtance: With this great Army ſhe arrived at Briſtol, and beſieged it: The City was taken in a few days, with the Elder Spencer the Governour, whom the Queen, at the earneſt importunity of the common People commanded to be hanged without examination, in his Armour on the common Gallows without the City, and then cut down alive, his Bowels taken out and burnt before his Eyes, his Head cut off, and then his Body hanged up again by the Feet; and after, having four days hung a miſerable ſpectacle to all Beholders, his Body was cut all to pieces, and given to the Dogs to eat, and his Head ſet upon Wincheſter Caſtle.

The King, the younger Spencer, and Biſhop Baldock, much diſtruſting their ability to defend the Caſtle, retired from thence ſecretly in the night, and getting into a ſmall Fiſher-boat, determined to flie into the Iſle of Lundy, in the mouth of the River Severn, about two Miles in length, and as many broad, ſtored with Rabbits, Pigeons, and other Fowls, incompaſſed with the Sea, and having only one paſſage into it, ſo narrow, that two Men can ſcarce go abreaſt: But Divine Providence ſeemed to withſtand their purpoſe, as deſigning them to be brought to Juſtice; ſo that every day for a week or more, when they attempted to Row their Boat thither, the Wind and Waves drove it back again toward the Caſtle, which being at length

length perceived by the Lord Beumont, he chaſed the Fiſher boat with a ſmall Veſſel, and boarding it, found therein the King, young Spencer, and Baldock, whom they ſo much deſired, and brought them to the Queen, who cauſed them to be carried and ſet in ſight of the Beſieged in the Caſtle, which was ſtill defended by Hugolin, Grandchild to the Elder Spencer, with much courage; and now finding no hope of relief, ſurrendred it upon condition to have his own and his Companions Lives ſaved.

Some Authors write, That the King going into a Veſſel out of Briſtol Caſtle, deſigned to flie into Ireland; and that after he had wander'd a week upon the Sea, Sir Thomas Blount, one of his Friends forſaking him, and going to the Queen, he came aſhoar in Glamorganſhire, where with his few Friends he intruſted himſelf with the Welſh, who had ſtill a kindneſs for him: The King not appearing, Proclamation was made, That the Barons and People deſired his return to the Exerciſe of the Government, provided he would remedy what was amiſs: Whereupon Henry Earl of Lancaſter, Brother to the late Earl, Sir William Zouch, and Rice ap Howel, who had all Lands in Wales, were ſent with Money and Forces to diſcover him, which ſo prevailed upon the Welſh-men, that they delivered him up, together with the younger Spencer, Baldock, and one Simon Reading (and received a Reward of 2000 pound) They were brought to the Queen, who was then at Hereford with Adam Tarlton the active Biſhop, The King was conveyed by the Earl of Lancaſter to Kennelworth Caſtle. After which the Queen and Prince, attended by the Barons and a ſtrong Army marched toward London, carrying with them young Spencer in Chains, like a Slave, before whom certain pitiful Fidlers, and other Varlets ſcornfully played upon Pipes made of Reeds, ſkiping, dancing and ſinging through every Town as they paſſed along. Spencer and Simon Reading, another evil inſtrument, were ſentenced to Death by the Judge

Sir

Sir Willlam Truſſel as Traytors. Spencer in his Armour was with all manner of ſcorn and inſults from the People, drag'd to a Gallows ſet up on purpoſe fifty foot high, where being hanged, he was afterward cut down and beheaded, and quartered. His head ſet upon London Bridge, and his Quarters in four principal Towns of the Kingdom. Simon Reading was hanged ten foot lower on the ſame Gallows, and Robert Baldock was committed Priſoner to Newgate, where with grief and hard uſage he ſoon after died. This happened in 1326.

Thus Divine Vengeance purſued theſe two ambitious and proffigate Wretches the Spencers Father and Son, and brought thoſe who ſet at defiance the Nobility, Gentry, and People of the Realm, to ſuch ſhameful and ignominious deaths, as by their vile actions they had juſtly merited. Since by their leud and proſligate Counſels, they prevailed upon the King to commit all manner of Enormities, by forſaking the Company and Bed of his lawful Wife, and living in all manner of debauchery with common Strumpets. By deſtroying and ruining his Nobility and Gentry, by all manner of Rapines upon the Common People, by ſuffering their Enemies to Plunder and Beggar them without any redreſs, and by all other miſdemeanors, which rendred him odious to his Subjects, and made him rule rather like a Tyrant than a King. And thereby occaſioned his Depoſition and Death, which ſoon after followed.

For the Queen having ſummoned a Parliament, it was by General conſent of the three Eſtates concluded, That King Edward ſhould reign no longer, but his Son the Prince ſhould be advanced to the Throne. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury Preaching a Sermon, and taking for his Text this Maxim, Vox Populi, Vox Dei, The Voice of the People, is the Voice of God, Exhorting all his Auditors to Pray to the King of Kings, to bleſs and proſper the King that they had Elected. The Queen ſeemed very ſorrowful and even diſtracted

ed at her Husband's depoſition, and the P. lamented for his Mothers grief, ſwearing that he would not accept of the Crown without his Father's conſent. To content them both, Commiſſioners are ſent to the King who perſuaded him to make a formal Reſignation of the Government, and then his Son was Crowned King. And not long after the Father being removed to Corf Caſtle was barbarouſly murdered by his Keepers, who through a horn run a burning hot Spit into his Fundament, of which he inſtantly died. I ſhall add no more having already given a particular account of his Reſignation and Death in a Book called Admirable Curioſities and Rarities in every County in England, &c.

Remarks upon the Life, Actions and fatal Fall of Roger Mortimer *Earl of* March, *Favourite to Queen* Iſabel, *Widow to King* Edward II. *and Mother to King* Edward III.

SUCH is the Malignity of Humane Nature, that though there are daily examples of Divine Vengeance executed upon notorious Offendors, yet men continue to perpetrate the ſame crimes that plunged their Predeceſſors into miſery and ruin. Of this, Roger Mortimer is an obvious inſtance, who though he were an Eye-witneſs of the faral fall of the three unfortunate Favourites, Gaveſton and the two Spencers, with divers of their Aſſociates in the former Reign: Yea though he himſelf was very inſtrumental in their deſtruction, and very active in pretending to reform the Grievances of the Kingdom: Yet no ſooner was King Edward by his means depoſed, and a young Prince advanced

vanced to the Throne under the Government and Management of his Mother, but he by managing the Queen, occasioned many mischiefs not much inferior to those of the former abhorred Minions, yea exceeding their wickedness in one point, namely, in being criminally concerned with the Queen Dowager, that being one of the Articles the Parliament charged him with. But as he wilfully disregarded these warnings, and impudently committed the like faults, so the Justice of Heaven visited him with the same deserved punishment.

He was descended from Roger called the Great Lord Mortimer of Wigmore in the Marches of Wales, who was his Grandfather, and revived and erected again the Round Table at Kennelworth after the Antient Order of King Arthur's Table, with the Retinue of an hundred Knights and 100 Ladies in his house, for the entertaining of such Adventurers as came thither from all parts of Christendom. This young Roger inherited his Estate and Grandeur. And Queen Isabel Wife to King Edward II. and Daughter to Philip the Fair King of France, being in the glory of her youth forsaken by the King her Husband, who delighted only in the company of Peirce Gaveston his Minion and Favourite, she fell passionately in love with this Lord Wigmore, though before she was accounted the most virtuous, chast and excellent Lady of that Age.

After the ignominious, but deserved death of Gaveston, the King instead of being reformed was presently infatuated with the love of two others, the Spencers Father and Son, who were as bad if not worse than he, for all manner of lewdness and debauchery. Whereupon the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, Warwick, Lincoln and others, rise in Arms against them, they having taken an Oath to King Edward I. on his death-bed to oppose and withstand his Son Edward if he ever recalled Gaveston from Exile; and finding that his death had not much bettered the state

of

of the Kingdom, they thought themſelves obliged by the ſame Oath to endeavour the ruin of them alſo, and thereby, the redreſſing the many oppreſſions and violencies under which the Nation groaned. This Roger Lord Wigmore a man of an invincible Spirit and his Uncle Roger Mortimer the Elder reſolved to join with the Lords in this attempt, and being very buſie in raiſing Forces, were taken before they could muſter them, and by the King committed to the Tower of London. But the Queen by means of Torlton Biſhop of Hereford, Beck Biſhop of Durham and Patriarch of Jeruſalem, then both Mighty Men in the State, prevailed ſo far with the King that upon the ſubmiſſion of the Mortimers the King was ſomewhat pacified. But afterward when He had gained a great Victory againſt the Barons, the young Lord Wigmore and his Uncle were condemned to be Drawn and Hang'd at Weſtminſter, and the day of Execution was appointed. Whereupon the Younger Spencer ſome time before, pretended to make a great Feaſt in honour of his Birthday, inviting thereunto Sir Stephen Seagrave, Conſtable of the Tower, with the reſt of the Officers belonging to the ſame, and after he had made them very merry he gave to each a large Cup of a ſleepy Drink prepared by Queen Iſabel, by which means he made his eſcape, breaking through the Wall of his Chamber, and coming into the Kitchen near the King's Lodgings, and getting into the top thereof, came into a Ward of the Tower, and ſo with a ſtrong Ladder of Ropes provided by a Friend he got over the Wall, leaving the Ropes faſtened thereunto, which the next day the Spectators beheld with much aſtoniſhment, conſidering the deſperate danger which he ventured in the attempt. He then ſwam over the Thames into Kent and avoiding the Highways came at length to the Seaſide near Portſmouth, where happily meeting with a Ship bound for France, he paſſed over thither, and lived in the French Court ſeveral years. His Uncle Roger was detained

detained in a loathſome Priſon five years after, and at length died, and was Buried at Briſtol.

King Edward was ſo inraged at his eſcape that he turned Sir Stephen Seagrave out of his place of Conſtable of the Tower, and ſeveral Citizens were ſeized and accuſed of being acceſſary to his getting away, and of correſponding with and maintaining him beyond Sea, but there note being ſufficient proof againſt them, they were all acquitted.

Mortimer continued in France till Queen Iſabel and the Prince arrived there, to avoid the inſults of the two inſolent Spencers. He after attended the Queen into Germany, and came over with her and the reſt of the Engliſh Lords, accompanied with the Earl of Heynault, and ſeveral German and Engliſh Forces. And upon King Edward's Flight, and afterward his Seizing and Impriſonment, Mortimer preſumed to manage all affairs according to his own pleaſure, and therefore the death of the Spencers, Reading and ſome others not ſatisfying his revenge, being high in the Queens favour who could not deny him the Heads of a few of his Enemies, he procured that the Earl of Arundel and two Gentlemen more, named John Daniel and Thomas Mochelden, (againſt whom he had a particular averſion) ſhould be Beheaded at Hereford.

After this, the Queen, her Son, and the beloved Mortimer went to Wallingford Caſtle, where they kept their Chriſtmaſs with all manner of jollity. From thence they proceeded to London, where the Queen and Prince were received with much Joy, and many rich Preſents, and a Parliament being called, it was concluded that King Edward ſhould be Depoſed and his Son advanced to the Throne. In the management whereof Mortimer diſcovered very much zeal, activity and diligence, as hoping thereby to become Chief Miniſter of State, as well as principal Favourite of the Queen. King Edward was Depoſed accordingly and confined to Kennelworth Caſtle, the Queen,

Queen, Roger Mortimer and Torlton Biſhop of Hereford having concluded to allow him an hundred Marks a month for his neceſſary Expences.

And now it was hoped that the Kingdom, having ſuffered ſo many Concuſſions and Miſeries for ſeveral years, would have been ſettled and reſtored to its former peace and tranquility. But it ſoon appeared that though the Nation had changed its Maſter, yet other evil Inſtruments ſucceeded to trouble and diſquiet the already haraſſed People. So that one Hiſtorian writes thus, The beginning of the Reign of King Edward III. was very troubleſome, for he by reaſon of his tender Age being but fifteen years old when he came to the Crown, was drawn aſide by evil Counſel, and committed many foul errors of State and Government. The chief occaſion of which, were the Queen, her Darling Roger Mortimer, and ſome others.

For firſt they procured ſo great a part of the Revenue of the Nation to be ſettled for maintaining the Queen and her Family, that the young King had ſcarce a third part of it for himſelf and his neceſſary Attendants and Officers. So that ſhe and her Favourite Mortimer lived in the greateſt State and Grandeur imaginable, and the People began to exclaim againſt him and ſay publickly, That the great zeal and hatred he had ſhewed againſt the Rapines of the Spencers, was not becauſe they had been oppreſſive to the Subject, but that he was deſirous no Body ſhould abuſe them but himſelf.

Secondly, The Queen and he having intelligence that ſeveral Great Perſons, and the whole Order of Friers Preachers, taking pity of the late King's Captivity, ſeemed to Conſult for his deliverance, and knowing that his Reſtoration would be their confuſion, they wickedly plotted and contrived to add Murther to their former Impieties, and therefore Roger Mortimer was ſent with that ambiguous Order to his Keepers,

Keepers, deviſed by Torlton Biſhop of Hereford,

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt.

To ſhed King Edward's Blood
Refuſe to fear I count it good.

Where by leaving out the ſtops, they ſufficiently incouraged the Murtherers, and yet afterward produced the Writing under Queen Iſabels Seal for their own Juſtification, when the horrid Fact was committed. Though this was very far from clearing them from the guilt of it in the opinion of the Vulgar, whoſe Tongues ſpare none, and who had before heard, that though the Queen in her outward deportment pretended much grief and ſorrow for the Impriſonment of the King her Husband, yet inſtead of viſiting him in his diſtreſs, which he often deſired, as ſtill retaining a very great love for her. She only ſent him fine Clothes and kind Letters, but contrary to the Laws of God and Man refrained from rendring him any Nuptial Duties, which they plainly reported ſhe beſtowed freely enough upon her bloody Adulterer Mortimer. Pretending in the mean time that Reaſons of State would not allow her to converſe with him. And ſoon after this deſolate Prince was by an expreſs order from the Young King, wholly procured by them, removed from Kennelworth to Corf Caſtle, and there miſerably deprived of his life.

Thirdly, In the ſecond year of the young King's Reign, Robert Bruce King of Scotland denounced War againſt him and his Kingdom, which occaſioned the raiſing of a ſtrong Army conſiſting of above fifty thouſand men, with which the King accompanied by the Queen Mother, Roger Mortimer, the Lord of Heynault, John Lord Beumont and many others of the Nobility and Gentry, marched toward the Scots, who had Invaded England. And had ſo happily incompaſt them in the Wood of Wiridale and Stanhope Park, that the Engliſh ſeemed fully aſſured of Victory.

Yet

Yet by the Treachery of Roger Mortimer, they were not only ſuffered to make a total eſcape without any loſs; but Sir James Dowglaſs in the dead of the Night with 200 Light-Horſe aſſaulted the King's own Pavilion, and had certainly killed him, had not one of his Chaplains (a Valiant Man) ſacrificed his own life in defence of his Soveraign's: Dowglaſs, after this bold attempt, eſcaped back without damage, but not without honour for his daring Courage; this misfortune was afterward charged upon Mortimer, as deſigning by the death of the King to Uſurp the Crown: The Scots left their Camp entire behind them, wherein the Engliſh found 500 Oxen and Cows ready killed, a Thouſand Spits full of Roaſt-Meat; 500 Caldrons made of Cow-hides new, with the Hair on, full of Fleſh, Boyling over Fires: And Ten thouſand pair of Shoes, made of raw Hides with the Hair outward; All which became a welcome booty to the hungry Engliſh Souldiers.

Fourthly, After this diſhonourable retreat of the King (who was extreamly grieved to return ſo inglorioufly, notwithſtanding the expence of a vaſt Treaſure, and the imminent danger of his own Perſon) and juſt before the death of King Robert, who died of the Leproſie, being accounted one of the moſt Valiant Warriors of that Age, as having redeemed his Country from Slavery, and by whoſe loſs it appeared of how much value the Courage and Conduct of a Prince is; yet before he died, by the contrivance of the Queen Mother, Roger Mortimer, and their Adherents ſuch a diſhonourable Peace is made with the Scots, as exceedingly diſpleaſed the whole Kingdom, and in the end proved fatal to the principal actor Mortimer. For at this Treaty the King, then in his Minority, Sealed Charters to the Scots at Northampton contrived by the Queen, her Favourite, and Sir James Dowglas, without the knowledge or conſent of the Peers of England, whereby that famous Charter called Ragmans Roll, was ſurrendred

rendred to them, with ſeveral Jewels, and among them one of an extraordinary value called the Black Croſs of Scotland, all which were taken from the Scots by the Victorious King Edward I. The Scots Kings were likewiſe freed and diſcharged for ever, from doing homage and fealty to the Kings of England, or from acknowledging them to have any Right or Superiority over that Kingdom: And that all Engliſhmen ſhould forfeit their Lands in Scotland unleſs they went and reſided there, and ſwore Allegiance to that King; Moreover under pretence of making reparation for damages, King Robert was obliged to pay the King of England Thirty Thouſand Marks Sterling, which Money was given to Mortimer, as a reward for his procuring this deſtructive and miſchievous Treaty. And to conclude all: David Bruce Prince of Scotland, a Child of Seven or Eight Years Old, and Heir to K. Robert, Married Jane Siſter to K. Edward at Berwick; whom the Scots in deriſion both of the Peace and Marriage ſcornfully nicknamed Jane Make Peace.

Laſtly, The Queen and Mortimer being ſenſible that ſome of the Principal Nobility diſliked their proceedings, and hindred their abſolute Government; they reſolved to contrive ſome means for removing them out of the way, and among others Edward Earl of Kent the King's Unckle: To effect this, it is ſaid, Mortimer cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad that K. Edward II. was ſtill alive at Corf-Caſtle, but not to be ſeen in the day time; and to countenance the deceit, for many Nights together there were Lights ſet up in all the Windows of the Caſtle, and an appearance made of Maſquing, Dancing, and other Royal Solemnities, as if for the King's diverſion: This being obſerved by the Countrey People, they confirmed the rumour of the late King's being there, which was ſoon diſperſed throughout England. The Earl of Kent hearing the news, ſent a Preaching Frier to the Caſtle to find out the truth of it; who

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by giving Money to the Porter, was admitted into the Caſtle, lying very privately in his Lodg all day; at night the Porter cauſing him to put off his own Prieſtly Robes, and put on his, the Frier was brought into the Hall where he ſaw, as he imagined, King Edward II. ſitting in Royal Majeſty at ſupper. The Frier returning to the Earl, aſſured him of the reality of what he had ſeen; whereupon the Earl being diſcontented, ſwore that he would endeavour by all ways poſſible to deliver his Brother out of Priſon, and reſtore him to his Throne: To which purpoſe he ingaged ſeveral other Noblemen in the deſign; with the Provincial of the White and Carmelite Friers, the Biſhop of London, and others: This Conſpiracy being diſcovered, though it were only a Lye and fancy, the Frier being impoſed upon only, by a King made of Clouts. Yet the Earl of Kent by his words and ſome Letters that were found about him, was condemned as a Traytor, for conſpiring to ſet a dead Man at liberty. But ſo generally was this Noble Lord beloved and honoured, that he ſtood upon a Scaffold at the Caſtle-Gates at Wincheſter, from Noon till five a Clock at Night for want of an Executioner, none being to be found that would behead him, till at length Mortimer ſent for a poor wretched Fellow out of the Jayl, who with much ado, and many blows hack'd his Head from his Body.

The Malice and Ambition of Mortimer and his Aſſociates, in making ſo little conſcience of ſhedding Royal Blood; with the many other Male-adminiſtrations aforementioned, raiſed inveterate diſcontents throughout the Kingdom againſt the Inſolent Authors of them. But in the mean time they who reſolved to ſupport their Grandeur in deſpight of Peers and People, ſummoned a Parliament at Nottingham, where Roger Mortimer appeared in the utmoſt ſplendor and glory, being Created Earl of March, and having greater attendance, and ſtronger

Guards than the King himſelf; whom he would ſuffer to riſe up to him, and with whom he walked as his Companion, yea went before him with his Officers. He likewiſe very ſcornfully, and inſolently rebuked Henry Earl of Lancaſter the King's Couſin, that without his leave he had taken up Lodgings in the Town ſo near the Queen; and obliged him, with the Earl of Hereford and Eſſex, to remove their Lodgings, a Mile from Nottingham: This notorious affront cauſed great murmuring among the Noblemen, who ſaid publickly, That Roger Mortimer the Queens Gallant and the Kings's Maſter, ſought by all means poſſible to deſtroy all the Royal Blood, thereby to Uſurp the Crown and Government; which ſome of the King's Friends being mightily concerned at, endeavoured to make him ſenſible of his danger, ſwearing that if he would eſpouſe their Cauſe they would faithfully aſſiſt him, and ſecure his Perſon.

The Young King began already to put on ſerious thoughts, and acted the Man much beyond his years; ſo that the Lords ſoon prevailed upon him to join with them in aſſerting his own Authority, which he himſelf ſaw ſo much leſſened by Mortimer's o grown Power. He was likewiſe informed that was commonly reported the Queen was with Child by Mortimer, to the great diſhonour both of his Mother and himſelf, and to the grief of all his Loyal Subjects: Hereupon he reſolutely ingaged with the Peers, to bring this Miſcreant and his Abettors to puniſhment. In order to which, Robert Holland, who had been long Governour of Nottingham-Caſtle, and knew all the ſecret paſſages, and conveyances therein, was taken into the deſign: Now there was in the Caſtle a private Paſſage cut through the Rock upon which it is built; which was divided into two ways, one opening toward the River of Trent which runs under it, and the other went a great deal farther under the adjoining Meadows, and was after

called

called *Mortimer's Hole*: The King lying one Night without the Castle, was conducted by Torch-light through this Passage (himself and his Valiant Attendants being all well Armed, and their Swords drawn,) till he came to the door of the Queens Bed-Chamber, which the secure and careless Lords had left wide open: Some of the foremost entred the Room (desiring the King to retire a little that the Queen might not see him) and slew Sir Hugh Turpington, who opposed them, from whom they went towards the Queen Mother, with whom they found Mortimer, both just ready to go into Bed, and seizing him they led him out into the Hall, whom the Queen followed crying out, *Bel filz, bel filz, ayes pitie de gentil Mortimer*, Good Son, Good Son take pity upon the gentle Mortimer: For she suspected the King was there, though she did not see him. Then were the Keys sent for, and all the Castle with the Amunition, and Provisions were delivered up to the King so secretly, that none without the Castle had any knowledge of it but only the King's Friends. This was counted a very daring enterprize in regard that Mortimer had usually 180 Knights, besides Esquires and Gentlemen, as a constant Guard for the security of his Person.

The next Morning early Roger Mortimer and his Accomplices were carried with mighty shoutings and rejoycings of the Common People (the poor Earl of Lancaster, though blind, making up the cry) toward London, and was committed to the Tower: And soon after in open Parliament at Westminster, was Condemned by his Peers, without being brought to Tryal, by a Law of Mortimer's own contriving, whereby the Earls of Lancaster, Winchester, Glocester and Kent were formerly put to Death. The following Articles of High Treason were laid to his charge.

1. That he was consenting to the Murther of the King's Father. 2. That he Treacherously occasioned much

much loſs and diſhonour to the King at Stanhope Park, by procuring the eſcape of the Scots, for which he had received a great Sum of Money. 3. That he cauſed ſeveral Ancient Deeds and Charters to be burnt, wherein the King of Scots was obliged to do homage to the King of England, and had made a diſhonourable Contract between the King's Siſter, and David Bruce King Robert's Son. 4. That he had prodigally and lewdly waſted the King's Treaſures, as well as thoſe of the two Spencers. 5. That he had been an Evil Councellor to the King, and had been too familiarly converſant with the Queen Mother. All which Articles are ſum'd up in the following ragged Rymes, which might very well have been in Proſe; but for their Antiquity and brevity, I will here inſert them.

Five heinous crimes againſt him ſoon were had.

1. That he cauſed the King to yield the Scot,
To make a Peace, Towns that were from him got,
And therewithal the Charter called Ragman.
2. He by the Scots was brib'd for private gain.
3. That by his means King Edward of Carnarvan,
In Berkley Caſtle Treacherouſly was ſlain.
4. That with his Prince's Mother he had lain.
5. And finally with polling at his pleaſure,
Had rob'd the K. and Commons of their Treaſure.

For theſe Treaſons he was ſentenced to be hanged, and afterward ignominiouſly drawn in a Sledg to Ty burn, the common place of Execution, then called the Elms, and there upon the common gallows was as ignominiouſly Executed, hanging, by the King's command, two Days, and two Nights, a publick and pleaſing ſpectacle to the wronged People: There died with him Sir Simon Bedford, and John Deverel Eſq; as well for the expiation of the late King Edward's deteſtable Murther, as in complement, as it were, to ſo great a Man's

Man's fall, who ſeldom or never periſh without company; they ſuffered in 1330.

The King by the advice of Parliament deprived the Queen of her exceſſive Dowry, allowing her only a Thouſand Pound a Year, and confining her to a Monaſtery during Life, but giving her the honour of a viſit once or twice a Year, though otherwiſe judging her ſcarce worthy to live, in regard of her Debaucheries with Mortimer, and her many other heinous practices.

From the ſudden ruin of this great Favourite Mortimer, we may Remark what Inchantments, Honour, Riches, and Power, are to the minds of Men, how ſuddenly, how ſtrangely do they blow them up with contempt of others, and forgetfulneſs of themſelves? And ſurely the frailty, and uncertainty of Worldly felicity is very viſible in this Great Perſon, who when he was drunk as it were with all humane happineſs, ſo that he ſeemed to fear neither God nor Man, was ſuddenly overtaken by Divine Juſtice; and brought to utter confuſion, when he leaſt dreamt of it: But it was very equitable, that he who would not take example by the wretched Fate of his Favourite Predeceſſors, ſhould himſelf be made an Example by the like ſhameful and Ignominious Death.

Remarks on the Life of Henry Stafford Duke *of* Buckingham, *Favourite to King* Richard *the Third.*

TWO Or three conſiderable Remarks do naturally reſult from the following Hiſtory. 1. That Tyrants being but ſingle Perſons could never perpetrate the many miſchiefs which they are uſually guilty of, did they not meet with proper Inſtruments to imploy therein. 2. That the pravity of Mankind is ſo deplorable, that the temptations of Honour and Riches too often prevail upon Men, and ingage them in the moſt vile and deſtructive deſigns. 3. That thoſe who are imployed by Tyrants muſt never boggle nor ſtrain at the greateſt Villanies, ſince if they be not as thoroughly wicked as their Maſter he will account them his implacable Enemies, and they are ſubject to be juſtly ruined by his unjuſt and revengeful hand.

All theſe Maxims ſeem to be verified in the Life, Actions, and Fall of this Great Man, Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham: He was Son to Humfry Stafford of Brecknock-ſhire in Wales, who was created Duke of Buckingham, and Lord High Conſtable of England, by King Henry VI. Being deſcended from a Daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, youngeſt Son to King Edward III. His Son ſucceeded him in his Titles and Honour, and was a great Favourite to King Richard III. and very Inſtrumental in adviſing him to his Uſurped Throne, as by the following Relation appears.

When King Edward IV. died, he left behind him two Sons, Edward his Succeſſor of thirteen, and Richard Duke of York of eleven years of Age. The

Young

Young King and his Brother were by their Father's Will committed to the care of the Earl of Rivers the Queens Brother, whom he made Protector of the King during his Minority. The Court was at this time kept at Ludlow in Wales to retain the Welsh in obedience, who began to be unruly, and in the mean time the Earl of Rivers disposed of all Offices and Places of Preferment, which very much dissatisfied the Duke of Gloceſter Brother to King Edward IV. and Uncle to the Present King, who upon his Brother's Death posted from the North, where he then was, to London, and finding the Queen and her Kindred had the whole Government of affairs about the King, he was very much displeased, as judging it a main obstacle to his Usurpation and and Advancement to the Throne which it seems he had long before designed; for it was reported that the very night wherein King Edward IV. died, one Misselbrook came early in the morning to one Potter living in Redcross street near Cripplegate, and told him, that the King was dead. By my Troth man (says Potter) then will my Master the Duke of Gloceſter be King. For surely if he had not been acquainted with his Master's Intentions he would not have thus spoke. But the Duke knowing that a business of such consequence was not to be managed alone, he associated to himself the Duke of Buckingham Lord High Constable, and the Lord Hastings Lord Chamberlain of England, two of the most powerful men in the Kingdom, prevailing upon the former by promising him the Earldom of Hereford, and the other being hereby in hopes to be revenged upon his former Enemies. So that they joined with him in opinion, that it was not necessary the Queens Kindred should so wholly engross the King, and Persons of better Birth and Nobility should be neglected, and therefore they ought to use their utmost endeavours to remove them.

The young King was now coming toward London with a great Attendance of Lords and their Follow-

ers, in order to his Coronation, which the Duke of Glocester judging to be another rub in his way, since he could not bring about his purposes without seeming to make an open War. He thereupon sends flattering Letters to the Queen, with zealous pretences of Loyalty and Service, persuading her to dismiss the great Guards about the King, since it might raise Jealousies in the Minds of the rest of the Nobility, that her Kindred did not raise these Forces for the security of the King's Person, but for some Sinister intent, and might cause them to raise a strength proportionable to encounter them, and so occasion a Civil War in the Kingdom, wherein her Kinsmen would by all the World be judged the first Aggressors.

These plausible reasons had such influence upon the innocent Princess, that she sends positive Order to the King and her Brother, instantly to disband their Guards for reasons best known to her self, (without mentioning by whose advice) which if she had, they would never have done it, but upon the receipt of these Letters they presently discharged the Souldiers, and came on with a very mean Train, and having passed through Northampton were proceeding to Stony-Stratford twelve Miles from thence, where the Dukes of Glocester and Buckingham met them; But they pretending that the Town was too little for them and their Retinue went back to Northampton where the Earl Rivers had taken up his Quarters for that night, intending the next Morning to follow the King. Several Complements passed upon their Meeting, and Supper being ended the two Dukes pretend to retire to rest, and the Earl went to his Lodgings.

The two Dukes wasted a great part of the Night in consulting with their Friends how to execute their enterprize, and having got the Keys of the Inn Gate they suffered none to go in or out, of which Earl Rivers having notice, though he suspected mischief, yet in confidence of his own innocence he went boldly into the Dukes Chamber, where he found the Duke of Bucking-

Buckingham and the reſt cloſely contriving their buſineſs, with whom he expoſtulated the unreaſonableneſs of their making him a Priſoner againſt his Will, but inſtead of a reply, they inſtantly command him to be ſeized, accuſing him of divers crimes whereof they themſelves were only culpable, and then putting him in ſafe cuſtody they ride away to the King to Stony Stratford, coming juſt as he was taking Horſe, whom they ſalute with much ſeeming reverence, but preſently begin a quarrel with the Lord Richard Grey the King's half Brother. The Duke of Buckingham giving the King an account, that this Lord, the Marqueſs of Dorſet his Brother, and the Earl Rivers, had contrived and almoſt effected the ingroſſing the management of all the affairs of the Kingdom among themſelves, which might be of dangerous conſequence, by raiſing diſcontents among the Nobility, and diſſention among the People, and that the Marqueſs had taken out of the Tower of London a great quantity of Money and Arms without Warrant, which might juſtly be ſuſpected is not intended for any good end, and that it was therefore thought neceſſary by the Lords and Peers that he ſhould be ſeized at Northampton, ſo to be ready to anſwer what he ſhould be charged with.

The King not being ſenſible of their deſign, mildly anſwered, What my Brother Marqueſs hath done I cannot ſay, but for my Uncle Rivers and my Brother here, I am well ſatisfied that they are ignorant of any unlawful Practices either againſt me or you. Oh, ſays the Duke of Buckingham, that hath been their policy to conceal their treachery from your Graces knowledge. And thereupon they inſtantly in the King's preſence ſeized the Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hall, and carried the King with all his company back to Northampton, turning away all his Old Officers and Servants, and putting thoſe in their rooms who were under their direction, at which harſh uſage the young King wept, and was much

much diſcontented but without remedy. Yet to colour their intents, the Duke of Gloceſter being at Dinner, ſent a Diſh of Meat from his own Table to the Lord Rivers, biding him he of good cheer for in a ſhort time all would be well. The Earl thanking the Duke, deſired the Meſſenger to carry the Diſh to the Lord Richard Grey with the ſame meſſage for his comfort, as one to whom ſuch troubles were unuſual but for himſelf he had been inured to them all his life, and therefore could the better bear them. But notwithſtanding this pretended kindneſs the Duke of Gloceſter ſent the Earl Rivers, the Lord Grey, and Sir Tho. Vaughan into the North, and afterward to Pomfret Caſtle where they were all in the end beheaded by his Order, without Trial.

The Duke having gotten his Prey in his Clutches, marches with the King toward London, declaring to all People in the way, that the Queens Relations had conſpired to deſtroy the King, and all the antient Nobility of the Kingdom, and to ſubvert the Government of the Nation, and that they were taken and impriſoned in order to be brought to a Legal Trial. And to make it more probable they carried along with them divers Waggons loaden with Arms, with ſeveral Cheſts, which they themſelves had provided, pretending they were full of Money, which the Conſpirators had provided to pay the Forces they deſigned to raiſe. But the fineſt Intreague of all was, that five of the Dukes own Creatures were brought along in Chains, who in every place where the K. lodged were given out to be Perſons of Quality that had been drawn into this horrid Plot and Treaſon by the Queens Brother, who being now very ſenſible of their guilt, had confeſſed the whole of theſe wicked contrivances. This Pageantry was acted all the way till the King came to London, but then the actors were diſcovered, and the cheat was openly detected.

About midnight of the next day, the Queen had notice of theſe ſorrowful accidents, and now too late repented.

repented her folly in being so treacherously impos'ed upon by the bloody Duke of Gloceſter, as to diſmiſs the Guards about her Son's Perſon by his inſtigation, and doubting that worſe would follow, ſhe with her youngeſt Son Richard and five Daughters, takes Sanctuary at Weſtminſter, lodging in the Abbot's Houſe there. The Young King having intelligence of theſe things, with Sighs and Tears expreſt much grief, but the two Dukes made ſo many proteſtations of their fidelity and care of his ſafety that they ſeemed to wonder at his being any way concerned.

Soon after, the Lord Haſtings ſent a Meſſenger to the Archbiſhop of York, then Lord Chancellor of England to ſignifie to him, that he need not be diſturbed at what happened, aſſuring him that in a little while all would be well again. *I am ſure*, replied the Archbiſhop, *Let it be as well as it will, it will never be ſo well as we have ſeen it.* And preſently after, the Archbiſhop attended by all his Servants armed in the midſt of the Night came to the diſtreſſed Queen, whom he found ſitting alone upon an heap of Ruſhes, much diſconſolate and in Tears, whom he endeavoured to comfort by telling her, That he had good hopes the matter would not be ſo bad as ſhe ſuſpected, the Lord Haſtings having by a Meſſenger ſent on purpoſe aſſured him that all would end well. 'Ah wretch! quoth the Queen, that man 'is one of thoſe who endeavour to ruin me and my 'Family: Madam quoth the Biſhop, pray be pacified, 'for I will ingage that if they dare preſume to Crown 'any but your Son whom they now have with them, 'the next day we will Crown his Brother who is here 'with you. And Madam, I here deliver you the 'Great Seal which was committed to me by that 'Noble Prince your Huſband, and which I reſign to 'you, only for the uſe and benefit of your Son. After which he departed, and in his way home obſerved the River of Thames full of Boats, with the Duke of Gloceſter's Servants, watching to prevent any from-

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going into Sanctuary without being firſt ſearcht and examined.

Theſe proceedings were very diſtaſtful to many of the Nobility and Citizens, doubting that all this was intended againſt the King's Perſon, and to prevent his Coronation. Whereupon they went armed about the ſtreets, and met together to conſult of the common ſafety. But the Lords of the Council being aſſembled, the Archbiſhop of York fearing that he ſhould be charged with want of underſtanding for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen, without the King or Councils leave, he privately ſent for it again, which being returned, he brought it as uſually into Council. The Lord Haſtings, whoſe fidelity to the King was real, aſſured the Lords that the Duke of Gloceſter was faithful and loyal to his Prince, and that the Lord Rivers and Lord Richard with the other Knights were ſecured for ſome ſecret practices againſt the Dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham, and that the King ſhould receive no damage thereby, and that they ſhould continue Priſoners no longer than till the whole matter was throughly examined before the King and Council. He therefore adviſed the Lords not to judge of it before they had heard it, nor to turn their private grudges and quarrels into publick contentions, and thereby diſturb the King's Coronation, which might be of worſe conſequence than they could at preſent imagine. For the Dukes were now coming to London to that purpoſe, and if the Lords ſhould take up Arms to oppoſe them, they would be counted Rebels. Since having the King in their Hands they would pretend his Authority to declare them ſo to be. By theſe Arguments, ſome of which he knew to be true, and others not, but chiefly by the near approach of the two Dukes to the City, theſe commotions were pacified.

At the King's approach, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of London with five hundred Horſe went as far as Hornſey to wait upon him, and attend-

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ed him from thence to London, where he arrived May, 4. 1483. And was Lodged in the Biſhop's Palace: A great Council was then held, and the Dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham, with the reſt of the Lords preſent, ſwore Allegiance to the King, and the Duke of Gloceſter carried himſelf ſo reſpectfully to him, that all the former jealouſies of his deſigning foul play vaniſhed, and he gained ſuch reputation and credit with the Council; that by their general conſent and approbation he was choſen Protector of the King and Kingdom. And thus was the Innocent Lamb delivered into the Cuſtody of the Ravenous Wolf: The Council ſeverely check'd the Archbiſhop of York for ſo inconſiderately delivering the Great Seal to the Queen, which was now taken from him, and given to Dr. Ruſſell Biſhop of Lincoln, one of the Honeſteſt and Learnedſt Men of that Time: Several Knights and Gentlemen had Places beſtowed upon them, but the Lord Haſtings kept his Office of Lord Chamberlain as formerly, and ſo did divers others.

The Duke of Gloceſter knowing he could not finiſh his miſchevious purpoſes, without having the other Son Richard Duke of York in his hands; for without them both he was as good have had neither. Therefore as his actions had made the King Melancholly, he now pretends that he ought to have his Brother's company to make him merry; and at the next meeting of the Lords of the Council he repreſented to them, That it was a very heinous [illegible] in the Queen to keep the King's Brother in [illegible] and not to let them come together and [illegible] in each others converſation. That it [illegible] the People to have ill thoughts of the [illegible] ſince the Queen durſt not truſt [illegible] Son in the hands of thoſe who were [illegible] the Peers of the Realm to have the [illegible] Guardianſhip of the [illegible] Royal Perſon, [illegible] office conſiſted [illegible] preſerving him

him from Enemies or Poyſon, but in procuring for him ſuch recreations and pleaſures as were ſuitable to his Youth and Dignity, and which he could not enjoy ſo properly in the company of Grave Councellors or Ancient Perſons, as in that of his own Dear Brother: He therefore adviſed, that the Archbiſhop of York might be ſent to perſuade the Queen to deliver her Son out of Sanctuary, which would be ſo much to the advantage of the Young Duke the King's moſt Noble Brother, and after his Soveraign Lord himſelf, his moſt Dear Nephew, and might alſo prevent any ſiniſter thoughts of the People, concerning the Nobility and Council. But if ſhe continued obſtinate, and would not hearken to the Archbiſhop's Councel in this matter, that then by the King's Authority he ſhould be forcibly taken from her, and brought to his Royal preſence, where he ſhall be ſo honourably received and treated, that the World ſhall be convinced it was only the malice, frowardneſs, and folly of his Mother which occaſioned his being kept in Priſon ſo long already.

This ſubtil Speech had ſuch effect upon the Council that they all concluded the motion to be juſt and reaſonable: And likewiſe comfortable and honourable both to the King and his Brother, and would prevent Evil ſurmiſes, provided the Queen could be induced quietly to deliver him. The Archbiſhop undertook to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to incline her to it, but added, if ſhe perſiſted in refuſing it, he thought it was not to be attempted againſt her will, for it would turn highly to the diſhonour of God, and to the diſpleaſure of the People, if the priviledge of that Holy place ſhould be now broken, which had ſo many Years been inviolably preſerved, which ſo many good Kings and Princes had granted and confirmed; and which Holy Ground was 500 Years ago by St. Peter in his own Perſon accompanied with great numbers of Angels by Night, ſo miraculouſly hallowed and Dedicated to God: And for proof whereof

whereof they have St. Peter's Copy yet in Weſtminſter Abbey to ſhow; and from that time to this, there was never any King ſo indevout and prophane that durſt violate that Sacred place, nor any Biſhop ſo Holy that durſt as to preſume to Conſecrate it; and therefore (quoth the Archbiſhop) God forbid that any Man for any Earthly thing ſhould preſume to break the Priviledges, and Liberties of that Holy Sanctuary, and I hope in God I ſhall not need to fear it, for my utmoſt endeavours ſhall not be wanting.

The other Biſhops and Clergy in the Council were of the ſame opinion, that no violence ought by any means to be uſed toward the Queen, or that Sacred Place. The Archbiſhop added, But my Honourable Lords, If the Mothers fears, or Womaniſh dread render my meſſage ineffectual, I hope, I ſhall receive no prejudice in your judgments thereby.

Womaniſh fear, nay Womaniſh frowardneſs, replied the Duke of Buckingham, for I dare take it upon my Soul, ſhe very well knows there is no juſt cauſe for her to fear any danger can accrue thereby, either to her Son or her ſelf; for ſurely no Man will make War with Women. I would to God that ſome Men of her Family were Women too, and then we ſhould all be quickly quiet: Yet are none of them the leſs reſpected becauſe they are her Relations, but by reaſon of their ill actions; but if we had no kindneſs for her or her Kindred, yet no Man can believe that we have any hatred, or evil deſign againſt the King's Noble Brother who is a Kin to us all, for whoſe Honour and welfare, if his Mother had ſo much regard as we of the Nobility have, She would not ſuffer him any longer to be without his Brother's ſociety, nor give occaſion to Men to think that we have any ſurreptitious intentions toward him. For though ſhe be a Wiſe Princeſs, yet I hope ſhe does not ſo preſume upon her own Wit, as to preſer it before the Wiſdom of this Illuſtrious Aſſembly, nor ſuſpect any

any unfair dealing from us, whom ſhe knows to be devoted to the Service both of the K. and his Brother. Her refuſal muſt therefore be the effect of her peviſhneſs, and preverſneſs, and not of her real fears, unleſs ſhe dreads her own ſhadow: Beſides, if upon pretended doubts ſhe is not willing to part with him, we have the greater reaſon to take him out of her hands, leſt to prevent us, ſhe ſhould convey him out of the Kingdom; and it would much reflect upon the diſcretion of this Honourable Council, to ſuffer the King's Brother to be carried out of the Realm before our Faces; I am therefore clearly for taking him from her, not that I would have Sanctuary violated, but as I would not break the Priviledges they have ſo long enjoyed; ſo if they were now to be given, I would not be one that ſhould conſent to confirm them.

I will not deny but it may be neceſſary that thoſe Men whom unfortunate accidents, and not their own ill Huſbandry, have reduced to Poverty, ſhould have a place of ſecurity from their cruel Creditors: Likewiſe, If their be a Contention about the Rights of Princes to the Crown, whereby ſometimes one Party, and ſoon after another are declared Traytors, as it has lately happened; I judge it convenient that there be ſome places of refuge for both: But for Thieves, and eſpecially wilful Murtherers, whom God Almighty commands ſhould be taken from the Altar and put to Death, I know no reaſon that they ſhould have any protection. For if either neceſſity, ſelf defence, or misfortune brings a Man into danger, he is either acquitted by the Law, or the King out of his Clemency has power to grant him a Pardon.

Now let us conſider, how few Sanctuary-men are neceſſitated to go thither, and how great a number their own flagitious crimes drive into them: What a rabble of Thieves, Murtherers, Traytors, and other heinous Offenders ſhelter themſelves from Juſtice, in two Sanctuarys only; The one in the

Elbow of the City, as I may call it, I mean this at Weſtminſter, the other in the very bowels of it, St. Martins Le Grand; and I dare avow that if we compare the miſchiefs that are occaſioned by them, with the benefits received from them, we muſt conclude that we were better without both: This I affirm, though they were not abuſed as they are, and having ſo long continued bad, there is now little hope of redreſs, ſince no Man dares preſume to talk of reforming them, and Men thereby ſeeming to make God and St. Peter the Patrons of Profligate and Vitious People. For how many live prodigally, and run in debt upon the incouragement of ſecuring themſelves in theſe places? How many Rich Villains carry in thither Poor Mens Goods, and leave them and their Families to Starve for want of their juſt dues? How many Women run away from their Huſbands, with their Plate and Money, and are there protected, to ſpend it upon their Gallants? How many Robbers bring Stolen Goods thither, and live bravely upon them? there they contrive new Robberies, going out at Night to commit them, and having Stolen, Plundred, and Murdered, they return thither again with their prey, as if ſuch places gave them not only ſecurity to perpetrate theſe Villanies, but a Licence to continue them.

But much of this miſchief might be prevented if good Men would in earneſt put their hands to it, which might tend much to the honour of God, and yet be no breach of Priviledge. For, ſince former Popes and Princes, who were more Politick than Pious, have granted them theſe long immunities; We and others ſince, out of fear have confirmed them, we muſt be content to ſuffer them; and in God's name let them ſtand in force as far as reaſon will permit, but not in ſuch force as to hinder us from taking this Young Prince out of Priſon, and reſtoring him to his Liberty, Honour and Eſtate.

A Sanctuary is to preserve those Men or Women that are in danger of the Law abroad, but not to wrong nor cheat any body, by going in thither: Now this Prince is in peril by no Law, his Youth and Innocence free him from all suspicion of danger, as well as his near Alliance to the King; therefore he neither needs, nor can have any benefit by Sanctuary, and I dare say, is very angry with those that keep him there: But suppose the Duke is willing so long to continue there, yet it is my opinion that he may be taken from thence against his will, as justly as a Man may take his Wife, who is run away from him thither, by the Arm and lead her out of St. Peter's Church, without any offence to St. Peter. For if none must be taken out of Sanctuary that have a mind to continue there, then if a Child will run thither to prevent his going to School, his Master must let him alone, and as mean as this instance is, yet there is less reason in our case than in that, for that Child has some fear, imaginary or real, but this Young Gentleman has none at all.

To conclude, I have often heard of Sanctuary Men, but never before of Sanctuary Children: Let those Men that desire and need it have the benefit of it, but he can be no Sanctuary Man that hath not understanding to desire it, nor malice to deserve it, whose Life nor Liberty can by no Legal process be in Jeopardy, and he that taketh one out of Sanctuary for his own advantage and benefit, can never be challenged for a Sanctuary breaker.

The Duke having ended his long Harangue, all the Temporal and most part of Spiritual Lords, not having the least suspition of any Treachery, were of opinion that if the Young Duke were not delivered, he ought to be taken away from his Mother; yet to avoid clamour they concluded that the Archbishop of York should be sent to persuade her, the Protector and Council resolving to Sit in the Star-Chamber till his return: Thereupon the Archbishop with divers

divers other Lords accompanying him, went to the Queen in Sanctuary, both out of reſpect to her, and to ſhew by their number that the Council were unanimous in the Meſſage that was ſent her: And ſome were of opinion that the Protector had ſeveral of his Creatures among them, to whom he had given private Inſtructions to ſeize him by force, and bring him away if his Mother ſhould perſiſt in her denial, and thereby prevent her from conveying him to a place of more ſecurity.

When they came into the Queens preſence, the Archbiſhop acquainted her that the Protector and all the Council had upon mature deliberation concluded that the detaining the King's Brother in Sanctuary, was a thing that might occaſion ſtrange ſurmiſes of them among the People, and ſeemed ſcandalous to them, as well as grievous to the King's Royal Majeſty, to whom the preſence of his Dear Brother muſt needs be as pleaſant and delightful, as the keeping them apart was diſhonourable to her and her Kindred; as though one Brother were in danger of another: That the Council had therefore ſent him and the reſt to require her delivery of him out of that place; ſo that he might at full liberty and freedom viſit and continue with the King his Brother, and be reſpected and attended according to his High Birth and Quality; the doing whereof would tend to the quiet of the Realm, be very pleaſing to the Council, and advantagious to her ſelf, as well as to her Friends that were now in trouble: And above all (quoth the Archbiſhop) and what I ſuppoſe you deſire beyond all, it will not only be comfortable and honourable to the King, but to the Young Duke himſelf, whoſe ſingular happineſs it will be to be with his Brother, and to partake in thoſe Princely Sports and Recreations which are ſuitable to their Dignity, and which they cannot ſo properly partake of in the company of any other. For the Protector eſteems it no ſuch ſlight matter as it may be thought, that the minds of the Young Princes ſhould

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for their Healths, be ſometimes refreſh'd with thoſe diverſions which may be both pleaſant and proper for their Age and Quality.

My Lord (replied the Queen) I will not deny but it may be very convenient that this young Gentleman you require of me were in the Company of the King his Brother, and in truth I think it might be as neceſſary that for a while yet, they were both in the Cuſtody and Company of their Mother, their tender age conſidered, but eſpecially the younger, who beſides his Childhood hath been lately viſited with a ſevere ſickneſs, and is yet only amended but not recovered, ſo that it is very fit he ſhould be carefully attended, and that charge I will commit to no Perſon upon Earth, but reſolve to make it my own buſineſs, conſidering that the Phiſitians tell us, a relapſe is more dangerous than the firſt Sickneſs, for nature being before weakned, is leſs able to endure a ſecond Combate, and though it may be others might uſe their beſt ſkill and diligence about him, yet none knows ſo well how to order him as my ſelf, who have ſo long been with him, nor can any be ſo tender of him as his own Mother that bore him.

None can deny, quoth the Archbiſhop, but that your Grace is of all Perſons the moſt proper about your Children, and the Council would be very glad that you would take care of them, if you pleaſe to do it in ſuch a place as might be convenient and honourable, but if you deſign to continue here, they then think it more proper that the Duke of York ſhould be with the King at liberty and in honour, to the comfort of them both, than to live here as a Sanctuary man, to their high diſhonour and diſgrace. Since it is not always neceſſary that the Child ſhould be with his Mother, but on the contrary that they be ſeparated from each other. And of this there is a late inſtance, that when your deareſt Son the Prince, and now King, did for his honour and the ſecurity of the Country reſide at Ludlow in Wales far diſtant from

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your Grace, yet you seemed very well contented therewith. Not so well contented neither, said the Queen, but the case is not now the same, for that Son was then in health, and this is now sick, and therefore I much wonder that my Lord Protector should be so desirous to have him in his company, since if the Child should happen to miscarry he will be suspected of having a hand in his death, and to have used foul play toward him. Neither can I but admire that the Council should think it so dishonourable for him to be here, when none can doubt but he will be in safety while I am with him, and where by the Grace of God I intend to continue, and not to bring my self into the danger that my Kindred are in, whom I rather wish to be here with me in security. Why Madam, said one of the Lords, do you know that your Kindred are in danger: No verily Sir said she, nor why they are wrongfully Imprisoned, but I shall not marvel if those who have thus illegally confined them without reason, should proceed to destroy them without Cause. The Archbishop bid him forbear such discourse, and told her, that he did not doubt but the Lords in Custody would be quickly at liberty, if nothing could be proved against them. And that her own Person could not be in any peril. The Queen replied, What reason have I to believe that, since my Kindred are as Innocent as my self, and all the malice against us is because we are so near a kin to the King. As for the Gentleman my Son, I intend he shall be where I am till I see farther, for I assure you the more earnest I see some men to have him away without any real ground, the more I dread to part with him. And truly Madam, quoth the Archbishop, the more loth you are to part with him, the more afraid are other men that you should convey him away, and therefore since he can have no privilege that does not ask it, nor for any fault can want it, they will think it no breach of privilege to take him from you by force.

Ah

Ah Sir quoth the Queen, hath the Protector ſo much love and tenderneſs for him, that he only fears he ſhould eſcape him. Alas whither ſhould I ſend him if he be not ſafe in this Sanctuary, the privilege whereof there was never any Tyrant ſo wicked or deviliſh to break. But it ſeems my Son deſerves no Sanctuary and therefore cannot have it: What, is this place of ſecurity for a Thief, and not for an Infant? But he is in no danger, ſay they: I would to God he were not. I wiſh the Protector may prove a Protector to him, but the matter is plain, he hath one Son already in his Hands, and could he get the other, and deſtroy them both, he would then Uſurp the Crown. I ſhall give no other account why I have ſuch a fear, but only what the Law gives, which as Learned men tell me, forbids any man to have the cuſtody of one by whoſe Death he may inherit far leſs than a Kingdom. I ſhall ſay no more, but that whoſoever breaketh this holy Sanctuary, I pray God he may ſoon have need of one, but not enjoy it.

The Queen then proceeded in ſevere reflections upon the Protector's deſigns, which the Archbiſhop did not then believe, and was therefore loth to hear; but told her in ſhort, That if ſhe would deliver her Son to him and the reſt he durſt pawn his Soul and Body for his ſafety; but if not, he much doubted ſhe would be obliged to do it againſt her will, and that he would never move her any more in that matter. Theſe words made the Queen ſtand ſilent, and conſidering ſhe had no time or place to ſecure him from them, the Sanctuary being ſtrongly guarded, and that ſhe did believe the Archbiſhop and ſome of the reſt of the Lords were good men, and would not ſee her Child wronged, and finally that if the Protector was reſolved to have him, he would ſcruple at nothing to compaſs his ends, ſhe concluded to deliver him her ſelf to their fidelity, and taking the young Duke by the Hand, ſhe ſaid, My Lords, I neither miſtruſt your prudence, nor am jealous of your faithfulneſs, of

which

which I now give you a convincing proof, and wherein if I ſhould be miſtaken, it would be a very great affliction to me, and would bring much miſchief to the Realm, and eternal reproach upon your ſelves. For behold here is the Gentleman you require, whom I doubt not but I could have kept ſafe in this place, whatever is alledged to the contrary. Though I do not queſtion but I have ſome ſuch deadly Enemies to my Family and Blood abroad, that if they thought they had a drop of it in their own Bodies they would let it out. For we have had many examples that the ambition of Soveraignty makes void all tyes of Kindred and Alliance, for this cauſe Brothers have been the ruin of Brothers, and may the Nephews find better uſage from their Uncle. While theſe Children are apart the life of one is a defence to the other, and their ſafety conſiſts in each others welfare. Keep one ſafe, and that will ſecure the other, but nothing is more dangerous than that they ſhould be in one place, for no wiſe Merchant will venture all his Eſtate in one Ship. But however, here I deliver him, and his Brother in him, into your hands, of whom I ſhall require them both, in the ſight of God and the World. I know very well that you are both Juſt and Wiſe, and that you want neither Will nor Power to preſerve them, if you think otherwiſe pray leave him with me. But one thing I earneſtly recommend to you, to be very cautious, leſt while you count me too fearful, you your ſelves be not too fearleſs and ſecure.

Then turning to the Child, Come my own ſweet Son ſaid ſhe, let me Kiſs You before you go, for God knows whether ever we ſhall kiſs one another again, to whoſe holy protection I commit you. Having Kiſſed and Bleſſed him ſhe turned aſide and wept, and then went away, leaving the Child weeping as faſt as ſhe. The Lords having received the Duke, brought him into the Star Chamber, where the Protector and Council were ſitting. As ſoon as he was entred the room, the Protector riſes up and takes him in his Arms,

Arms, Kiſſing and Imbracing him, ſaying, Dear Nephew you are welcome with all my heart, for next to my Soveraign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me ſo much contentment as your preſence. And herein it was thought he did not diſſemble, having now got the prize which he ſo much deſired. Soon after upon pretence of removing the two Princes into a place of more ſecurity, till the Peoples minds were ſettled, the Protector cauſed them to be carried in great Pomp and State through London to the Tower, there to continue till the King's Coronation, from whence they never after came abroad.

The Protector now began more openly to proſecute his deſigns, but the work being great, he muſt make uſe of Great men in it, and at that time none was more potent than that Duke of Buckingham. Some have writ that the Duke was privy to all the contrivances of the Duke, from the death of King Edward IV. Others thought the Protector never durſt adventure to diſcover a matter of ſuch great conſequence to him, and that he now imployed ſome cunning people to inſinuate into the Duke that the young King had a ſecret hatred to him for being acceſſary to the Impriſonment of his Kindred, and that if he were ever in a capacity he would revenge it upon him, for if they ſhould be again at liberty to be ſure they would incite him to it, and if they ſhould be put to death, this would the more inrage the King againſt him. That there was no way for the Duke to retreat, or make his Peace with the King, ſince the King himſelf, with his Brother and Kindred were now in ſuch ſafe cuſtody that the Protector with a word of his Mouth could deſtroy them all, and him alſo, if he found him fall off from his Intereſt.

Though the Duke might be troubled at what he had done, yet being ſenſible of the Protector's cruelty, and his own danger, he reſolved to join with him in all his trayterous enterprizes, and ſo it was agreed between them, that the Duke ſhould aſſiſt the Protector

to

to advance him to the Crown. In recompence of which ſervice, the Protector's only Son and Heir ſhould marry the Duke's Daughter, and ſhould likewiſe have the Earldom of Hereford ſettled upon him and his Succeſſors, which he had claimed as his Inheritance from Edward IV. but could never obtain it. He alſo promiſed the Duke a large ſum of the King's Money, and a great quantity of his Houſhold-ſtuff.

Having entred into this curſed combination, to delude the People they pretend to make great preparations for Crowning the young King. To which purpoſe all the Lords of the Council were ſummoned to appear in the Tower. Where they met accordingly, but the Protector being ſenſible that the Lord Haſtings would be a great obſtacle in his way, becauſe of his firmneſs and fidelity to his old Maſter King Edward's Sons, he reſolved to be rid of him, which he effected in the manner following.

The Protector coming into Council complemented all the Lords very affably, ſeeming more than ordinarily merry, and after ſome other diſcourſes, My Lord, ſays he to the Biſhop of Ely, I hear you have very good Strawberries in your Garden in Holbourn, pray let us have a diſh of them: With all my heart replied, the Biſhop, and inſtantly ſent for ſome, The Protector then roſe haſtily up, deſiring them to excuſe his abſence for a while. And returning about an hour after, he appeared ſo extreamly diſturbed and changed in his countenance uttering ſo many grievous ſighs, and uſing ſuch paſſionate geſtures that the Lords were in much admiration of the cauſe thereof. He knit his Brows, and bit his Lips, appearing extremly concerned. After long ſilence, the more to prepare their attentions he asks confuſedly, what puniſhment they deſerved who had compaſſed, imagined and contrived the deſtruction of him who was ſo near allied to the King and Protector of his Perſon and Kingdom. At this queſtion the Lords were all amazed and ſate looking upon each other without ſpeaking a word, at length

ength the Lord Haſtings (by the inſtigation of the Duke of Buckingham) preſuming upon his intimacy with the Protector, replied, That whoever they were, they deſerved to be puniſhed as Traytors, to which the other Lords aſſented. Whereat the Protector riſing up, Why it is, ſays he, that old Sorcereſs my Brother Edward's Widow, and her Partner that common Whore Jane Shore, that have by Witchcraft and Inchantment, contrived to take away my life. And though by God's Mercy they have not been able to finiſh their Villany, yet ſee the miſchief they have done me, for behold (and then he ſhewed his left Arm naked and withered) how they have cauſed this dear Limb of mine to wither and grow uſeleſs, and my whole body had been in the ſame miſerable plight if they had executed their Wills upon me. The Lords who knew the goodneſs and virtue of the Queen, and that his Arm had been always withered from his birth, found it a falſe pretence, but were ſo aſtoniſh'd at his confidence that they durſt not utter a word, till the Lord Haſtings (thinking to lay all the fault upon the Queen, and excuſe Jane Shore whom he had taken for his Miſtreſs and Bed-fellow ever ſince King Edward's death, and from whom he had riſen that Morning) ſubmiſſively anſwered, *If the Queen have conſpired*— which he had no ſooner ſaid, but the Protector looking fiercely upon him, What, ſays he in a great rage, doſt thou tell me of If's and And's, I tell thee they and none but they have done it, and thou art Confederate with them in their Villany. Who I, my Lord? quoth he; Yea thou Traytor, ſays the Protector, and therewith ſtriking a ſound blow with his hand upon the Table, Treaſon was cried in the next room, and immediately a great number of armed men came ruſhing in as if to guard the Protector, one of whom with a furious blow of a Pole-axe, wounded the Lord Stanley in the head, and had certainly kill'd him, but that with the ſtroke he ſunk under the Table. The reſt of the Council were ſeized, and ſecured in ſeveral

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Rooms. The Lord Haſtings the Protector charged with High Treaſon, and wiſhed him to make haſte and Confeſs himſelf, ſwearing by St. Paul, (his uſual Oath) that he would neither eat nor drink till his Head were off: It ſignified nothing to ask a reaſon, for he knew the Protector would give none; ſo he was carried to the Green in the Tower before the Chappel, where his Head was laid upon a long peice of Timber, and there ſtruck off, and his Head and Body afterward buried in Windſor Chappel, near King Edward IV.

In the Tragical end of this Lord, we may obſerve how inevitable the ſtrokes of deſtiny are, for the very Night before his Death the Lord Stanley ſent a ſecret Meſſage to him at Midnight, in all haſt to inform him of a Dream he had, in which he thought that a Boar with his Tuſks had ſo goared them by the Heads, that the Blood ran about their Ears, and becauſe the Protector gave the Boar for his Arms, or Cognizance, this Dream had made ſo dreadful an impreſſion upon his mind, that he was fully reſolved not to ſtay any longer, and had his Horſe ready, requiring the Lord Haſtings to go along with him; and that they might Ride ſo faſt as to be out of danger before Morning. But the Lord Haſtings returned this Anſwer by the Meſſenger; Ah good Lord! Doth thy Maſter inſiſt ſo much upon Trifles, and has he ſuch faith in Dreams, which either proceed from fancy, or from the thoughts of the preceeding Day; but if they foretel things to come, why may they not preſage; that if we run away and ſhould be taken, then the Boar might have ſome reaſon to uſe us ill: Therefore commend me to thy Maſter, and bid him be merry and fear nothing, for I am as ſure of the Man he woteth of, as I am of my own Right hand. The Man he meant, was one Cateſby a Lawyer, who was at firſt advanced by his favour, and now grown ſo intimate with the Protector, that he did not doubt but he would diſcover any ill deſign againſt him: But he was much miſtaken,

miſtaken, for after he became ſo great with the Protector, Cateſby was the firſt Man that adviſed the taking off the Lord Haſtings: Likewiſe the ſame Morning he was Beheaded, his Horſe ſtumbled twice or thrice almoſt to falling, which though it often happen by chance, yet has been ſometimes reckoned a token of misfortune. Moreover, at the ſame time coming to Tower-Wharf, he there met a Purſivant of his own Name, which made him recal what had happened to him ſome time before, in that place; for he was accuſed by the Lord Rivers in King Edward IV. Reign, of ſome Crimes which for a time caſt him out of the King's favour, and indangered his Life, but was after reſtored again into Grace.

Now ſeeing this Man, Ah Haſtings quoth the Lord, Thou canſt not forget that the laſt time I met thee here it was with a heavy Heart: Yes my Lord, ſaid the Purſivant, I remember it very well, but thanks be to God your Enemies gained nothing, nor had your Lordſhip any damage thereby, and now the danger is over: Thou wouldeſt ſay ſo indeed, ſaid the Lord, if thou kneweſt as much as I do, for the World is well changed now, and my Enemies are in greater danger, as thou mayſt happen to hear in a few days: (the Enemies he meant, were the Lord Rivers and others of the Queens Kindred, who were that very day ſecretly ordered to be Beheaded at Pomfret-Caſtle, of which he had knowledge) and I was never merrier, nor in more ſafety ſince I was Born. By this we may learn that there is no greater ſign of ill fortune than to be too ſecure, and that Men are blind as to their own Fate, and though the Ax hangs over their Heads, yet are not ſenſible of it, but are oft moſt in danger when they think themſelves ſafe, and moſt ſafe when they judg themſelves in danger. For this Lord notwithſtanding his great confidence, loſt his Head two hours after he ſpoke theſe words.

The ſame Morning, as the Lord Haſtings was going to the Council in the Tower, a Knight who pretend-

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ed kindneſs to him, but was thought to be privy to the Protector's deſigns, and ſent to meet and haſten him thither, offered to accompany him. The Lord Haſtings ſtaid by the way in Tower-ſtreet, to diſcourſe with a Prieſt whom he met; the Knight jokingly interrupted their talk, ſaying, Pray, my Lord, make haſte, for you have no need of a Prieſt yet, ſeeming to be in jeſt, but it was thought, meant in earneſt that he would in a ſhort time have occaſion for one.

The news of the Death of the Lord Haſtings, ſoon flew into the City, and much ſurprized the People, but the Protector to prevent any Commotion, ſent for ſeveral of the Principal Citizens to come to him with all ſpeed. At their appearance, himſelf with the Duke of Buckingham, received them in Old Ruſty Armour, to make a ſhew as if the preſent danger had obliged them to take what they could firſt come by, and then the Protector declared to them; That the Lord Haſtings, and other Conſpirators, had contrived to have ſlain him and the Duke of Buckingham in Council, and then to have taken upon them to Govern the King and Kingdom at their pleaſure: Of which Treaſon they had made diſcovery, but few hours before it ſhould have been acted; ſo that their ſudden fear had cauſed them to put on ſuch Armour as they firſt met with, but that God had ſo far prevented their Traiterous purpoſes, as ſome had already received their deſerts. This he required them to report to the People: The Citizens ſeemed as if they had believed what he ſaid, though they all knew nothing was more falſe. Preſently after a Proclamation was publiſhed throughout the City; reciting the aforenamed particulars, and adding ſeveral reflections upon the Lord Haſtings, as that he was an Evil Councellour to King Edward IV. Adviſing him to do many things to his great Diſhonour, and the damage of the Kingdom by his ill Example and Converſation, particularly in the lewdneſs of his Life, which he ſtill con-

tinued with Shore's, Wife who was one of the principal Conſpirators, with whom he had converſt the very laſt night, and that it was no wonder if ſuch a wicked courſe of Life had brought him to ſuch an untimely Death, which he was condemned to ſuffer by the ſpecial command of the King and his Honourable Privy Counell, before whom he was clearly Convicted to have contrived this horrid Treaſon, and whoſe ſudden Execution according to his demerits, they hoped would prevent the other Conſpirators, from proceeding in their Traiterous purpoſes, and ſecure the Peace of the Nation.

Now this Proclamation was publiſhed within two hours after the Lord Haſtings was Beheaded, and was ſo exactly perceived, and fairly Written in Parchment, and withal ſo long, that all the World perceived it had been prepared long before, which occaſioned the School Maſter of St. Pauls at the Proclaiming it to ſay; *Here is a gay goodly caſt, foul caſt away for haſte*, To whom a Merchant Anſwered; *That it was written by Propheſie, or Revelation.*

After this the Protector, like an Innocent, continent Prince, ſent the Sheriffs of London to Jane Shore's Houſe, (who lived from her Huſband) with an order to ſeize all her Goods, which they did to the value of two or 3000 Marks, and committed her to Priſon: He charging her with bewitching him, and with conſpiring with the Lord Haſtings, to deſtroy him, but having no proof of any thing, he then gravely accuſed her of what all the Kingdom knew before, and ſhe her ſelf could not deny; that ſhe was Unchaſte of her Body, which made Men ſmile that it ſhould be now told as new: Hereupon he cauſed the Biſhop of London to put her to open Pennance for Incontinency, and the next Sunday ſhe was brought out of Ludgate, going before a Croſs in Proceſſion, with a Wax Taper in her hand, and though ſhe was then in mean Apparel, having only her Girdle on, yet ſhe appeared ſo fair and lovely,

ly, the crowd of Spectators raising a comely blush in her Cheeks, and withal so modest and sober, that she was much commended by them, who had more love for her Body than for her Soul; yea those that hated her vitious life, and were glad to see Sin punished, yet pitied her misery, and hard usage from him, who inflicted it for wicked and politick ends, and not out of love to Virtue, or Chastity.

This Woman was a notable instance of the mutability of Fortune; she was born in London, of a good Family, and very well Married to one Shore, a sober worthy Citizen and Goldsmith, but it was thought, a little too Young; so that she never shewed much affection to her Husband, whom she was [illegible] capable of loving, which might incline her the [illegible] to imbrace King Edward's Kindness: Which being attended with Honour, Riches, Fine Cloaths, Ease, Pleasure, and all other humane delights, was hardly to be resisted by such a tender heart as she had: When the King had taken her for his Mistris, her Husband wholly abandoned her Bed: After his Death the Lord Hastings, who had an extream passion for her during the King's Life, but either out of respect, or faithfulness, forbore Courting her, now took her home to his House, and maintained her in great splendor: She was very fair and proper, and nothing amiss in her whole Body, but that some thought her not tall enough, as some report who knew her in her Youth, (saith Sir Thomas More) but now she is Old, saith he, who saw her, she is lean, withered, and her Skin so extreamly shrivelled, that it is scarce to be imagined so much beauty and comeliness ever resided in that wretched Carcass. Yet she was not more admired for her handsomeness, then for her ready wit, and brisk temper; neither too full, nor too sparing in discourse, jesting oft without abuse, but very pleasantly, so that her company was extream entertaining. King Edward used to say, That he had three Concubines, who were excellent for three dif-

ferent Qualities; One being the merrieſt, another the moſt politick and ſubtile, and the third the moſt devout Harlot in the World; who when he ſent for to his Bed, was uſually at Prayers upon her knees in the Church; the other two were Perſons of greater Quality, but Jane Shore was the merrieſt, and therefore the King took much delight in her converſation; for though he had many Miſtreſſes, yet he may be ſaid only to love her, and to ſay the truth, ſhe never abuſed the kindneſs he had for her to the detriment or hurt of any, but to the relief of very many, appeaſing the King's anger toward ſome, getting abatement of Fines, reſtoring others to favour, diſpatching their Suits and Affairs, and all for little or no reward. Valuing any thing that was fine or pretty above great Summs of Money, being contented either with the pleaſure of doing kindneſſes, or of being Courted and Petitioned for them, to ſhew what power ſhe had with the King; or laſtly, becauſe wanton Women are not always Covetous. It may be thought, ſays Sir Thomas More, 'That this Woman is too ſlight a Subject among matters of a greater conſequence, but ſays he, She to me ſeems worthy of Remark, that ſhe ſhould now be a miſerable beggar, without Friends, or Money, but what ſhe gets by Charity, who was formerly in ſuch great favour with a renowned Prince, was adored by the Courtiers, addreſſed unto by Perſons of the higheſt Quality, for expediting their buſineſs, as much as the greateſt Favourites of this Age: Had abundance of Riches, and all other goods of fortune: And yet ſhould become ſo wretched a Creature as ſhe is at this day, being obliged to beg of thoſe now living, that muſt have begged themſelves, if it had not been for her kindneſs toward them.

To proceed: It was contrived by the Protector, the Duke of Buckingham, and the other bloody Councellours, that the very day the Lord Haſtings was Beheaded in the Tower, and at the very ſame hour,

hour, he himself consenting to it, the Lord Rivers, and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at Northampton, were Beheaded at Pomfret, which was done in the presence, and by the order of Sir Richard Ratcliff, whose service the Protector much used in these affairs, he being a Man of a malicious wit, and cruel nature, and fit for any mischievous designs. Who bringing them out of Prison to the Scaffold, and telling the People they were Traytors, not suffering them to declare their Innocence, lest their words should have inclined the People to pity them and hate the Protector, he caused them hastily, without Tryal, Witnesses, Sentence, or any Legal Process, to be Beheaded, only because they were Loyal to the King, and too near a Kin to the Queen his Mother.

These Noblemen being thus dispatched, the Protector now resolved to advance himself to the Crown, whilest the Peers and People being amazed, and terrified at these proceedings durst not interpose to hinder him: But because the matter would seem exceeding odious, he and his wicked Council consulted how to put a fair gloss thereupon. Several ways were proposed, among the rest they thought it necessary to bring in Edward Shaw then Lord Mayor of London, who upon promise of advancement, should prepare the Peoples Inclinations; and because Clergy-men are hearkned to in Matters of Conscience, therefore Doctor Shaw the Lord Mayor's Brother, and Doctor Pinke, Provincial of the Augustine Friers, are likewise ingaged in the Affair, both great Preachers, but of more Learning than Virtue, and of more fame than Learning, having a notable estimation among the Vulgar. These two were appointed to Preach, the one at Paul's-Cross, and the other at the Spittle, and to display the excellent Qualities of the Protector: Pinke in his Sermon so lost his Voice that he was forced to break off, and come down in the midst; and Doctor Shaw by his Sermon lost his re-

putation, and soon after his Life, for he was so ashamed of it, that he never after came abroad.

But the next perplexity was to get some plausible pretence for deposing the Young King, and advancing his Uncle: After several alterations, they at length concluded to alledge Bastardy, either in King Edward IV. himself, or in his Children, or both; to lay Bastardy publickly to King Edward, would reflect upon the reputation of the Mother both of his Brother and himself. The Protector therefore ordered that point to be handled tenderly, but the Bastardy of the Children he would have openly and boldly asserted, and to ground their Allegations upon the following pretext.

After King Edward IV. had deposed King Henry VI. and got Possession of the Throne, he determined to Marry, and thereupon Richard Nevil, the Great Earl of Warwick is sent to France to Treat of a Marriage between the King and the Lady Bona, Daughter to Lewis Duke of Savoy, and Sister to the Lady Carlote then Queen of France. The proposition is readily imbraced in France, the Match soon concluded: In the mean time King Edward being Hunting in Wichwood Forrest near Stony Stratford, happened to come to the Manour of Graston, where the Dutchess of Bedford then lay, and where her Daughter by Sir Richard Woodvile, called the Lady Elizabeth Gray (Widow of Sir John Gray of Groby, Slain in the Battel of St. Albans,) came to Petition the King for some Lands, of which her Husband had made her a Jointure: With whose beauty and graceful mein the King was so surprized, that he presently fell to Courting her. The Lady perceiving his intent, told him plainly, That as she thought her self not worthy to be his Wife, so she esteemed her self too good to be his Concubine. The King who very seldom was denied such favours, his handsomeness and dignity making him acceptable to most Ladies, so much admired her Virtue, that he resolved

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o Marry her. His Mother having notice of it endeavoured to prevent the Match, telling him, That it would be both honourable and safe to Marry some Great Princess, and thereby strengthen his Government by Potent Alliances. That it was below him to Marry his own Subject, and especially a Widow, that had Children, he being a Young Man and a Batchellor. Lastly, that he was already Contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy. The King Answered, That as to Honour and Alliances, they might bring more trouble than profit; and whereas you object Madam, (says he) That the Lady is a Widow and has Children, By God's Blessed Lady, I am a Batchellor, and have some Children too, and so we have both proof that we are not like to be Barren, and for your alledging that I am already Contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy: Let the Bishop, saith he, charge me with it when I come to take Orders, for I understand, it is forbidden to a Priest, but I never heard before that it was prohibited to a Prince; and soon after he Married the Lady Elizabeth Grey.

Upon this Pretext the Protector would found the Bastardy of King Edward's Children. That he had been formerly Contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, though the Lady her self upon Examination, acknowledged she had a Child by him, but denied there was any Contract between them. However upon this ground Doctor Shaw took for his Text, *Bastard Plants shall take no deep root*, and in his Sermon declared that King Edward was never Lawfully Married to the Queen, but was before God, Husband to the Lady Lucy, and so his Children were Bastards, adding, that those in the Family had great jealousie that neither King Edward IV. himself, nor his Brother the Duke of Clarence, were begotten by his Father, they much resembling other Persons in Court that were well known, but that the Noble Prince Richard, Lord Protector, had the the very Lineaments, Complexion,

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and Countenance, as well as the Courage, and Magnanimity of the Renowned Richard Duke of York, his Father.

Now it was contrived, That at the uttering these words the Protector should have come in and appeared to the People, that the Preacher's words, and his presence thus corresponding, it might be thought he had spoke them by the special Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. But this trick failed, for either by the Protector's delay in coming, or the Doctor's haste in Preaching, he had proceeded for some time upon other matters: At length observing the Protector was coming, he without order or reason, diverted from the matter he was upon, and began to repeat the same words again. *This is that Noble Prince, the Father's own Picture, his own Face, and the express Image of his Father's Person.* In the mean time the Protector with the Duke of Buckingham, pressed through the crowd to the Pulpit, and there sate to hear the Sermon. But the People were so far from crying out, *God save King* Richard, as was expected, That they cried shame on the Preacher, for abusing his Calling to such vile purposes.

The Tuesday following the Duke of Buckingham with divers Lords and Knights came to Guildhall London, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons being their assembled, the Duke of Buckingham made a long Speech to them to this effect. 'That the Lord 'Protector and the rest of the noble Peers were come 'to acquaint the worthy Citizens with a matter of 'great consequence, and which they did not doubt 'would be very pleasing and acceptable to them. A 'matter they had long in vain desired, and which was 'absolutely necessary to their welfare and happiness, 'even the future security of their Lives, Wives, Children and Estates, which had been all indangered by 'the ill government of the late King Edward IV. who 'by tricks and shams endangered their Lives, and by 'unreasonable Taxes, Pillings, and Pollings to main-

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'tain his Riot and Prodigality, waſted their Eſtates 'and what people he reſpected moſt appeared by his 'favours to Shore's Wife, who in his Reign was more 'ſought unto, and managed greater affairs by her in-'fluence over his vain mind, than the greateſt Peer 'in England, whereby he raiſed the hatred and ill 'will of the People both againſt himſelf and his Chil-'dren. He then reminded them of the Doctor's Ser-mon the laſt Sunday, who being a Preacher of God's Word, had by his God's Authority declared the juſt Right and Title of the Protector to the Crown of this Realm, which he doubted not but they would regard, (conſidering the honeſty and wiſdom of the Preacher) beyond what he could ſay to them, he having ſo clear-ly proved that King Edward was before Married to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, and that therefore his Chil-dren by the Lady Gray cannot be Legitimate, ſo that for want of lawful Iſſue, the Lord Richard had an un-doubted Right and Title to the Crown, by whoſe Re-nowned Virtues and Valour he did not doubt but the Kingdom would enjoy all happineſs, and be freed from that woe which the Wiſe Man pronounces that Nation to be ſubject too, *whoſe King is a Child.* All which the Lords of the Council having taken into con-ſideration, had thereupon agreed to accept of him for their King. 'And now (ſaid the Duke) I am come 'to acquaint you with it, and to require your conſents, 'which I do not doubt but for your own benefit you 'will readily give, both in electing ſo worthy a Prince, 'and thereby alſo obliging his Majeſty who will be 'kind to thoſe who are moſt zealous for his advance-'ment to the Throne.

Having ended his long Oration, the People ſtood mute, as admiring at the motion, but none cried King Richard, King Richard, as was expected. At which the Duke being amazed, ſuppoſing the Lord Mayor had before informed and prepared the Common Hall, he whiſpered to him to know the meaning of this ſul-len ſilence. The Lord Mayor anſwered, It may be

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they did not hear, or at leaſt underſtand what he had ſaid. Hereupon the Duke repeated the ſame words, more audibly and earneſtly, but this obſtinate ſilence ſtill continued. Then the Duke deſired that the Recorder, who uſually ſpoke to the People, might move them in it. But the Recorder, named Fitz Williams, being an honeſt man, and newly come to his Office, repeated the Duke's words only, without adding any of his own. So that this nothing prevailed upon their reſolved ſullenneſs. At laſt the Duke told them plainly, That all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were determined to chuſe the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir, and that it was only out of reſpect and kindneſs to the Citizens that they had acquainted them with it, deſiring them freely to ſpeak whether they would join with them in this Election or No. Upon this ſome of the Duke's Servants, and others planted on purpoſe at the lower end of the Hall threw up their Caps and ſhouted aloud, King Richard, King Richard, while the Citizens ſtood murmuring and inquiring among themſelves what the meaning of it was.

However the Duke took the advantage of it, as of an unanimous conſent, A goodly cry, quoth he: Giving them all thanks for their univerſal approbation, promiſing he would acquaint the Protector with their great kindneſs toward him, requiring the Lord Mayor, and Citizens to meet the Protector the next Morning at Baynard's-Caſtle. Being met accordingly, the Duke of Buckingham ſends up word to the Lord Protector, that the Lord Mayor and his Brethren were come to preſent a ſupplication to him, in a matter of great conſequence. The Protector though pre-acquainted with the matter, yet pretended to admire what the buſineſs ſhould be, and though he did ſuſpect no ill from any thing which the Duke of Buckingham ſhould offer, yet deſired ſome hint of what it might be. It was Anſwered, That the buſineſs was to be communicated only to himſelf in perſon,

ſon, and therefore they humbly deſired to be admitted into his preſence: Hereupon as if not well aſſured of their intent, he appears to them in the Gallery, to prevent any ſiniſter practice againſt him. The Duke of Buckingham with great reverence tells him, That he hoped his Highneſs would pardon him in what he was going to declare in the behalf of the Lord Mayor and Nobility there preſent, and after many circumſtances, proceeds to diſcover the cauſe of their coming, That in regard of the urgent neceſſities of the Common-wealth, they all humbly intreated him to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom in his own Right, to whom they all tendered their Alleglance: At which word the Protector ſtarted back as if extreamly ſurprized, and paſſionately replied. 'I little thought good Couſin, 'that you of all Men would have moved me in a mat'ter, which of all things in the World I muſt de'cline! Far be it from me to accept of that which 'without apparent wrong to the Children of my 'dear deceaſed Brother, and my own upright Con'ſcience, I cannot well approve of: And pretending to proceed in this diſſembling Harangue, the Duke ſeemed abruptly upon his Knees to ſtop him. 'Since your Grace, ſays he, has been pleaſed to give 'free liberty to offer to you in the Name of this 'Great Aſſembly, the free tender of their Obedience 'to you; I muſt further add, That it is unanimouſly 'concluded that your late Brother King Edward's 'Children, as being generally known to be Illegiti'mate, ſhall never be admitted to the Crown of Eng'land; and therefore if your Grace ſhall neither re'gard your ſelf nor us, ſo far as to accept of the ſame, 'we are fully determined to confer it upon ſome other 'of the Houſe of Lancaſter, that will be more ſen'ſible, of his own and our good.

'heſe words ſeemed to have ſuch powerful effect upon the Protector's mind, that with a pretended change of countenance, and feigned perturbation,

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He replied: 'Since I perceive the whole Kingdom 'are resolved by no means to admit my dear Ne- 'phews, being but Children, to Reign over them, 'and since the Right of Succession justly belongs to 'me as the undoubted Heir of Richard Plantaginet, 'Duke of York, my Renowned Father: We are 'contented to condescend to your Importunities, and 'to accept the Regal Government of the Kingdom; 'and will to the utmost of my power endeavour to 'procure and maintain the quiet and welfare thereof.

After this he came down from his Gallery, and very formally Saluted them all, which so pleased the giddy and inconstant Mobile, that they presently shouted out, Long live King Richard our Dread Soveraign Lord, and so every Man departed.

Having thus Usurped the Soveraignty, He was soon after Crowned: Creating his Son Edward a Child of Ten years old, Prince of Wales; advancing several of the Nobility to higher Honours, and Dignifying others. And to shew his Clemency and good Nature, several whom he suspected would have hindered his proceedings, and had been therefore Imprisoned were now released; but Morton Bishop of Ely, who would never consent to the disinheriting King Edward's Children, was committed to the custody of the Duke of Buckingham, who secured him in his Castle of Brecknock in Wales.

And now King Richard with his Queen (the Lady Ann, Youngest Daughter of the Great Earl of Warwick, and the Widow of Prince Edward Son to King Henry VI.) whom he had newly Married, made a progress to Glocester, upon pretence of visiting the place of his former Honour: But in truth to be absent while he had a special villany to be acted. For though he had satisfied his Ambition by depriving his Nephews of their Livelyhood; yet he could not remove his fears without taking away their Lives: To perpetrate this villany he durst not use the assistance of his old Friend and Favourite the Duke of Buckingham,

Buckingham, as being ſenſible of his abhorrence thereof. However it was too eaſie to find wicked Inſtruments for Money, and upon inquiry, he heard of two Brothers in his Court, Sir Thomas, and Sir James Tyrril, the firſt of an honeſt ſober temper, but the other of a proud ambitious humour, and ready to commit any wickedneſs for preferment. Being told of this Man as he was at the Cloſe-Stool, he inſtantly roſe and went to him, whom he found more free to undertake the work than he was to imploy him, ſo the bargain was ſoon made, and nothing remained but an opportunity to effect it.

King Richard had before ſent John Green one of his Privadoes, to Sir Robert Brackenbury, Lieutenant of the Tower, to require him to do the deed, he being raiſed by him, but the Lieutenant declaring an abſolute averſion thereto; Good Lord, ſays the King, *Whom can a Man truſt*: So that finding he muſt be removed, or elſe it was impoſſible to effect it, he ſends him an abſolute Order by Sir James Tyrril, immediately to deliver up the Keys of the Tower to him. Tyrril being now Lieutenant for the time, hires two Raſcals like himſelf, Giles Foreſt, and James Leighton his Hoſtler, a ſtout luſty fellow, to join with him in the Murder of theſe Innocent Children, who coming into their Chamber in the Night, accompanied only with one Black Will, or William Slaughter another bloody Villain, they ſuddenly wrapt them up in the Bed-cloaths, and keeping down the Pillow and Bed-cloaths, with all their ſtrength upon their Mouths, they ſo ſtifled them that their breath failing, they ſurrendred up their Innocent Souls to Heaven. The Murtherers perceiving, Firſt by their ſtrugling with the pangs of Death, and then by their long lying ſtill, that they were thoroughly Dead, they laid their Bodies out upon the Bed, and then called Sir James to ſee them, who preſently cauſed their Bodies to be buried under the Stairs, under a heap of Stones, from whence they were

were afterward removed to a place of Christian Burial, by a Priest of Sir Robert Brackenbury, who dying soon after it, was never known where they were laid; which gave occasion to the Imposture in K. Henry VII. Reign of Perkin Warbeck, who pretended to be Richard Duke of York the Younger Brother, that by the compassion of the Murtherers was saved, and sent to seek his Fortune. Others write that King Richard caused their Bodies to be taken up, and being closed in Lead, to be put into a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the ends with Iron, and so thrown into a place called the Black Deep, at the Thames mouth, to secure them from being ever seen or rising again.

But Divine Vengeance soon reached the Murtherers, Miles Forrest rotting away alive peice meal at St. Martins Le Grand: Leighton dyed at Calice, detested of all Men, and in great misery; Sir James Tyrril was afterward Beheaded for Treason at Tower-Hill, and King Richard himself after this execrable Fact, never was quiet in mind, being tormented with fearful Dreams, starting out of his Bed, and running about the Chamber with great horror, as if all the Fiends in Hell had been about him to torture his vexed Soul.

And here we may observe, That Confederacies in Evil seldom continue long, but usually end in reciprocal ruin: And thus it happened with King Richard, and the Duke of Buckingham his intimate Favourite, who had been Confederates in the Death of many; which now dissolves in the destruction of them both. What the cause of the first breach was could not be known: Whether the Duke did not think he was sufficiently rewarded for his Services: Or that King Richard did not judg himself safe, whilest he that set him on the Throne remained so Great: Or that the Duke being Ambitious and Aspiring, grew envious at his own act in advancing him. The last of which conjectures he seemed to confirm

confirm by pretending ſickneſs to avoid being preſent at the Coronation: Which King Richard was jealous of, and therefore obliged him to come by ſending word, That if he did not, he would fetch him. Whereupon the Duke came with ſo ill a will that ever after there was no good underſtanding between them, retiring preſently after to his Caſtle at Brecknock.

And here the inſcrutable depth of Divine Providence is very remarkable, which the greateſt Politicians cannot Fathom. For the King had committed the Biſhop of Ely to the Duke's cuſtody, as one that would ſecure him from doing any hurt, and therefore deſigned it for the Biſhop's puniſhment. Whereas this very thing occaſioned the Biſhop's liberty and advancement, and was a means of King Richard's deſtruction. For the Duke retiring home, ſeemed to be much diſturbed and diſcontented in his mind, and wanting reſt, would be ſometimes talking with the Biſhop, who being a Man of great Wit and Judgment, the Duke became at length extreamly pleaſed with his company, and opened himſelf more freely to him, whereby the Biſhop perceived that the chief cauſe of his trouble was his envy to King Richard; and thereupon he took an opportunity to diſcourſe him to this purpoſe.

My Lord, 'You know that formerly I took part 'with King Henry VI. and could have wiſhed his Son 'had enjoyed the Crown, but after God had ordain-'ed King Edward IV. to Reign, I was never ſo mad 'to contend for a dead Prince againſt a living one; 'and ſo I was a faithful Chaplain to King Edward, 'and would have been glad his Child had ſucceeded 'him, but ſince by the ſecret judgment of God it 'hath happened otherwiſe, I will not ſtrive to ſet 'up that which God hath pluck'd down: And as 'for the Lord Protector and now King ———

Here the Biſhop made a ſudden pauſe, ſaying, He had already medled too much in the World, and would

would for the future be concerned with nothing but his Books and his Beads. Becauſe he ended with King, the Duke was impatient to have him proceed, ſaithfully promiſing no hurt ſhould come from it, but it may be much good; aſſuring him that the reaſon why he deſired the King to put him under his cuſtody, was that he might ſecretly aſk his councel and adviſe. My Lord, ſaid the Biſhop, I humbly thank your Grace, but I confeſs I do not much care to talk of Princes, ſince it may often prove dangerous, though nothing be ill meant: But a Man's words may be interpreted, not as he intended them, but as the Prince pleaſes to conſtrue them, which puts me in mind of one of Æſop's Fables. The Lyon had publiſhed a Proclamation, That upon pain of death no Horned Beaſt ſhould continue in an adjoining Wood, now a certain Beaſt that had a bunch in his forehead, flying away in great haſte was met by a Fox, who aſk'd him whither he ran ſo faſt? Faſt, quoth he, I think it is time to run if I intend to ſave my life? Why Brother Reynard, han't you heard of the Proclamation againſt Horned Beaſts? What then you Fool, quoth the Fox, That does not concern you, for I am ſure you have no Horns on your Head: Ay marry, quoth the Beaſt, that I know well enough, but what if the Lyon ſhould call my bunch a horn, where were I then, Brother Reynard? The Duke laughed at the ſtory, and ſaid, My Lord, I warrant you neither the Lyon nor the Boar ſhall pick any matter out of any thing that has been ſpoken, for it ſhall never come near their Ears. In good faith, Sir, ſays the Biſhop, What we have ſaid if taken as we meant it, could only deſerve thanks, but being wreſted as ſome would do, might be of ill conſequence to us both. The Duke intreated him to go on, in his former diſcourſe; My Lord, ſaid the Biſhop, As for the late Protector, ſince he is now King in poſſeſſion, I ſhall not diſpute his Title, but for the good of the Kingdom, I could wiſh he had in him thoſe excellent Virtues where-

with

with God Almighty has qualified your Grace. Here he ſtopt again; My Lord ſaid the *Duke*, I much wonder at theſe ſudden pauſes, which ſo interrupt your diſcourſe, that I can neither comprehend your thoughts of the King, nor your affection to my ſelf, I therefore beg of you not to conceal your thoughts any longer, but freely to diſcover your ſentiments; and upon my Honour, I will be as ſecret as the Deaf and Dumb perſon is to the Singer, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Biſhop upon the aſſurance of the Dukes, thus followed his diſcourſe.

My Lord, 'I plainly perceive that this Realm is in 'great danger of being brought to confuſion and de-'ſolation under the preſent Government; but I have 'ſtill ſome hope remaining, by the dayly obſervation 'of your Noble Perſonage, your Juſtice, your ardent 'love to your Countrey, and likewiſe the great love 'the People have toward you, and ſhould think the 'Kingdom fortunate which had a Prince ſo fit and 'apt to be their Governour as your ſelf, whoſe Perſon 'and actions contain in them all that is truly great, 'juſt and honourable. He then reproached the King for his many Murders, Cruelties, and Oppreſſions, adding, 'And now my Lord, If you love God, your 'poſterity, or your Native Country, you muſt your 'ſelf take upon you the Imperial Crown and Dia-'dem of this Realm: But if you refuſe the ſame, 'I then adjure you by the Faith you owe to God, 'and the regard you ought to have for your Native 'Land, in your Princely Wiſdom, to contrive ſome 'means whereby the Kingdom may be ſetled in 'Peace, Liberty and ſafety under a Legal Government; 'and if you think fit to advance again the Houſe of 'Lancaſter, or to Marry the Eldeſt Daughter of 'King Edward IV. to ſome powerful Prince; the new 'Crowned King may be quickly removed from his 'Uſurp'd Throne, and thereby Peace and Plenty, 'and Tranquility will again be reſtored to the 'Nation.

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The Biſhop having ended his Speech, the Duke remained ſilent for ſome time, only breathing forth many deep ſighs, which much ſtartled the Biſhop, and made his colour change. The Duke perceiving it, Be not afraid my Lord, ſaid he, All promiſes ſhall be kept; and ſo for that time they parted. Next day the Duke ſent for the Biſhop, and having repeated their former diſcourſe, he proceeded; 'My 'Lord of Ely, Becauſe I diſcern you have a real 'kindneſs and affection for me, I will freely unboſom 'my Thoughts to you: After I obſerved the diſ'ſimulation and falſhood of King Richard, and eſpe'cially when I heard of the Barbarous Murther of 'the two Young Princes, to which, God is my wit'neſs, I never condeſcended, I ſo much abhorr'd 'his preſence, and company, that I left the Court 'upon a pretended excuſe, he not in the leaſt per'ceiving my diſcontent, and ſo returned to Brecknock 'to you. In my return, whether by Inſpiration, or 'Melancholy, I was poſſeſt with many Imaginations 'and Contrivances, how to deprive this Unnatural and 'Bloody Butcher, of his Royal Seat and Dignity. 'Firſt, I fancied that if I had a mind to take the 'Crown, now was the time, the Tyrant being ſo 'generally abhorred and deteſted of all Men, and 'believing that I had the neareſt right to the Suc'ceſſion. In this imagination I continued two days 'at Tewkſbury, and was ruminating whether I was 'beſt to take upon me the Crown as Conqueror, but 'I preſently thought that then certainly both the 'Nobility and Commons would uſe their utmoſt 'Efforts againſt me. But at length I happened on 'ſomething that I did not doubt would have brought 'forth fair Flowers; yet proved at length nothing 'but Weeds. For I was thinking that Edmund Duke 'of Somerſet my Grandfather, was with Henry VI. 'within two or three degrees of John of Gaunt, 'Duke of Lancaſter; and my Mother being Eldeſt 'Daughter to Duke Edmund, I ſuppoſed my ſelf to

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'be next Heir to King Henry VI. of the Houſe of 'Lancaſter. This Title was well pleaſing to thoſe 'whom I made of my Council, but much more to 'my aſpiring mind, but while I was perplext whe-'ther it were beſt inſtantly to publiſh this my Right, 'or wait ſome better opportunity, obſerve what 'happened: As I rid from Worceſter to Bridg-'north, I met the Lady Margaret, Counteſs of Rich-'mond, now Wife to the Lord Stanley, and Daughter 'and Sole Heir to John Duke of Somerſet, my Grand-'father's Elder Brother, whom I had as utterly for-'got, as if I had never known her, ſo that ſhe and 'her Son Henry Earl of Richmond, have a Right 'before me. By this I perceived my miſtake, and 'reſolved to relinquiſh all Ambitious Thoughts, and 'to endeavour the Eſtabliſhment of the Earl of Rich-'mond, Right Heir of the Houſe of Lancaſter; and 'that he ſhould Marry the Lady Elizabeth, Eldeſt 'Daughter to King Edward, ſo that the two Roſes 'might be hereby united. And now ſaid the Duke, 'I have told you my whole Heart.

The Biſhop was very glad that they had both hit upon the ſame deſign, and extolling his well laid contrivance, replied, Since by your Graces incomparable prudence this Noble Conjunction is intended, it will be neceſſary to conſider who are fitteſt to be acquainted with it. By my troth quoth the Duke, we will begin with the Counteſs of Richmond the Earl's Mother, who will inform us whether he be under Confinement, or at Liberty in Brittain. And thus was the Foundation of a League laid by theſe two Great Men, which fully Revenged the Death of the two Innocent Princes: And it was proſecuted with all Expedition; one Reynold Bray being imployed by the Biſhop, to his Lady the Counteſs of Richmond; Doctor Lewis the Dutcheſſes Phyſician, was ſent to Queen Elizabeth, and two other Perſons were ordered privately to wait upon the Earl of Richmond then in France, and acquaint him with the

Deſign

Design, and procure his consent to the intended Marriage. Who coming to the Earl, and giving him information of the Plot; He thereupon discovers it to the Duke of Brittain, who though by Hutton King Rich. Ambassador, he had by many great offers been solicited to detain the Earl in Prison, yet he readily promised, and really offered him his utmost assistance: Several Knights and Gentlemen were also brought into the Confederacy in England. Bishop Morton, though against the Earl's consent, retires in disguise into the Isle of Ely, where having prepared his Friends to espouse the Earl's Interest, he went from thence to Brittain to him, and continued there, till the Earl, when King, sent for him home, and made him Archbishop of Canterbury.

But though all was managed with the utmost Privacy, and under Oaths of Secresie; yet King Richard had made a discovery thereof; but pretending Ignorance he sends for the Duke of Buckingham to come to him: Which the Duke endeavouring to avoid by pretended excuses, He at last peremptorily commands him to appear upon his Allegiance; upon which the Duke returned this resolute Answer, 'That he owed no Allegiance to such a perjured, in-'humane Butcher of his own Flesh and Blood. And so from that time preparations of War are made on each side. The Duke had Assembled a good number of Welshman, and the Marques of Dorset, having got out of Sanctuary, was labouring to raise Forces in Yorkshire. The two Courtneys were doing the same in *Devonshire* and Cornwall, and the Lords Guilford and Rame in Kent: King Richard sets forward with his Forces; The *Duke* of *Buckingham* Marches to incounter him, intending at Gloceſter to have past the Severn, and joined the two Courtneys, but the great Rains had so swelled the River, that overflowing its Banks there was no Fording over. This Inundation was so great, that Men were drowned in their Beds, Houses overturned, Children carried

ried about the Fields, Swiming in Cradles, and Beasts were drowned on Hills, which rage of Water continued Ten days, and is to this time in the Countreys adjacent, called, The Great Water, or the Duke of Buckingham's Water. The Welshmen were so affrighted with this accident, that judging it an ill Omen, they all secretly deserted him, so that the Duke being alone without either Page or Footman, retired to the House of one Humfrey Banister, near Shrewsbury, who having been advanced by him and his Father, he thought himself safe under his roof. But Banister upon King Richard's Proclamation of a reward of 1000. Pound to him that should discover the Duke, Treacherously and perfidiously discovered him to John Mitton High Sheriff of Shropshire, who took him in a Thread-bare Black Cloak, walking in an Orchard behind the House, and carried him to Shrewsbury where King Richard quartered, and there without Arraignment, or Legal Proceeding he was in the Market place Beheaded in 1484. Whether Banister received the proclaimed reward from King Richard's hand is uncertain; but it is certain he received a reward of a Villain, from the hand of Divine Justice; for himself was after hanged for Manslaughter, his Eldest Daughter was Ravished by one of his Plowmen, or as some say struck with a loathsome Leprosie, his Eldest Son in a desperate Lunacy Murdered himself, and his Younger Son was drowned in a small puddle of Water.

This was the fatal end of the Great Duke of Buckingham, who went too far for a good Man, in being accessary to the depriving the Innocent Princes of their Birth-right, and declaring them Bastards. But it seems he went not far enough for so bad a Man as King Richard, because he would not consent to the Murther of them. However, he fell by the same hand that advanced him to be his chief Favourite and Privado. And though King Richard now Triumph'd over his Enemies, yet in a very short time, he lost

both his Crown and Life in one day; the foundation of his Ruin having been firſt laid by this unproſperous Conſpiracy againſt him. For a while after he was Slain in a Battle at Boſworth, in Leiceſter ſhire, by Henry Earl of Richmond, who ſucceeded him by the name of King Henry the Seventh.

Remarks upon the Life, Actions, and Fall of Thomas Woolſey, *Cardinal of* York, *Favourite to King* Henry VIII.

THE Magnanimity of Spirit which appeared in the Life, and Actions of this Great Cardinal; doth clearly evince that Perſons of Mean Birth may be indued with as generous and lofty Sentiments, and be poſſeſſors of as much Grandure of Soul, as thoſe of Noble Deſcent; which occaſioned ſome to alledge that he muſt needs be the By-blow of ſome Prince, and not the Iſſue of ſuch mean Parents as his were generally reckoned.

For all Hiſtorians relate that he was the Son of an honeſt poor Butcher at Ipſwich in Suffolk; who in his Childhood being very apt to learn, his Father, with the aſſiſtance of Friends, ſent him to a Grammar School, from whence he in a ſhort time went to the Univerſity of Oxford, where he was ſo great a Proficient, that at Fifteen Years Old, he was made Batchellour of Arts; and therefore called the Boy Batchellour. He was after made Fellow of Magdalen College, and Maſter of Magdalen School, and had the Education of the Marqueſs of Dorſet's Sons committed to him, by whoſe care they ſo well [illegible] in Learning, that the Marqueſs beſtowed [illegible] in his gift upon this Ingenious School-[illegible] W

left his Fellowſhip, and came to reſide in his Living: Where he had not been long when one Sir James Pawlet, upon ſome diſpleaſure ſet him in the Stocks; which affront was not forgotten nor forgiven by Woolſey: Who when by the mighty favour of Fortune he came to be Lord Chancellour of England; he ſent for Sir James, and after having ſharply reproved him, enjoined him not to ſtir out of the Middle-Temple, without Special Licenſe from himſelf, which he could not obtain in Six Year time.

After the Death of the Marqueſs of Dorſet, from whom he expected higher preferment, his towring thoughts, aimed at ſome greater imployment, and ſince he found he muſt now make his own Fortune, he reſolved to take all opportunities to advance himſelf. To this end he became acquainted with one Sir John Naphant, an Ancient Noble Knight, formerly Treaſurer of Callice, under King Henry VII. to whom he was Chaplain, and by his Wiſdom and Diſcretion, gained ſuch favour with his Maſter, that he committed all the care and charge of his Office to his Chaplain. At length being diſcharged of his Imployment for his great Age, he returned into England, but retained ſo much kindneſs for Woolſey, that by his Intereſt at Court, he procured him to be made one of the Chaplains to King Henry VIII.

Having thus caſt Anchor in the Port of Preferment he roſe amain, for he had opportunity hereby to be dayly in the King's Eye, by reaſon of his daily attendance, and ſaying Maſs before him in his Cloſet. Neither did he ſquander away his leiſure time, but would commonly attend thoſe Great Men, who were in moſt favour and power with the King, and among others, Doctor Fox, Lord Thomas Lovell, Maſter of the Wards, and Conſtable of the Tower, who perceiving him to be a Man of a very acute wit, thought him a fit Inſtrument to be imployed in matters of State. And King Henry having occaſion to ſend an

Ambaſſadour to Maximilian Emperour of Germany, Theſe two Grave Councellours, recommended His Chaplain Woolſey to him, as proper for ſo Honourable an Office. The King inſtantly ſent for him, and diſcourſing with him about Matters of State, he found him endued with ſo much Eloquence, Learning, Judgment, and Modeſty, that he cauſed his Commiſſion, and Inſtructions to be drawn up with all ſpeed: Which having received, he took his leave of the King at Richmond, at Four a Clock in the Afternoon, and in Three Hours arrived at Graveſend, from thence he Rid Poſt to Dover, and going a board the Paſſage-boat, he arrived next Day before Noon at Callice, and the ſame Night he made ſuch haſte that he came to the Emperour's Court, at Bruſſels in Flanders. Who having notice of this arrival, of the King of England's Ambaſſadour; out of great Affection to his Maſter, gave him Audience the ſame Evening. The Ambaſſadour having delivered his Meſſage and Credentials, and humbly deſiring his ſpeedy diſmiſſion, the Emperour readily granted all his Maſter's Requeſts; and fully diſpatched him the next Day. Hereupon he Rides back that Night Poſt to Callice, being attended by ſeveral Noblemen, by the Emperour's Order; and came thither in the Morning before the Gates were opened, and the Pacquet Boat being ready to go off, he arrived at Dover by Eleven at Noon, and the ſame Night came Poſt to Richmond, and the next Morning preſented himſelf to the King at his coming out of his Bed Chamber to Maſs, who checked him for not being upon his Journey. May it pleaſe your Highneſs ſaid he, I have been with the Emperour already, and I hope have diſpatched my Embaſſy to your Graces Satisfaction. The King admired at his Expedition, Aſking him whether he met with the Meſſenger ſent after him, before he thought him gone from London, with further Inſtructions of weighty Conſequence: Yes ſaid Woolſey, I met with him Yeſterday

Yesterday by the way, and though I did know his Message, yet presuming upon your Highness goodness, and judging those Matters very necessary to be done, I made bold to exceed my Commission, and dispatch them, for which I humbly beg your Majesties Pardon. The King much pleased herewith, replied, We not only pardon you, but give you also our Royal Thanks, both for your discreet management and great Expedition.

Soon after the King bestowed on him the Deanery of Lincoln, being one of the greatest Promotions under the degree of a Bishop; and in a short time made him his Lord Almoner, wherein he behaved himself with so much discretion, that he was advanced to be one of the Lords of the Privy Council; and King Henry bestowed on him Bridewell in Fleetstreet, one of his Royal Houses for his Residence and Family, and he was observed by the People to be a Rising Favourite. For the King was Young, and much given to pleasure; and his Ancient Councellours advising to be sometimes present in Council, to consult about the weighty Affairs of the Government; his Lord Almoner on the contrary, dissuaded him from imbarasing himself in the Troubles and Intreagues of State, assuring him, that if he would allow him sufficient Authority, he would ease him of those Fatigues, and manage all Affairs to his content. This Advice was quickly received by the Youthful Prince, who gave him what Power he demanded, so that governing all things according to his own mind, he seemed to Rule more than the King himself.

In the first Year of King Henry's Reign, a difference happened between him and the French King Lewis XII. who upon some private quarrel with Pope Julius II. Marched with a great Army into Italy, and possest himself of the Rich City of Bolonia: King Henry having a great respect for the Pope, because he had dispensed with his late Marriage with Queen Katherine of Spain, his Brother Arthur's Widow; and likewise

finding the Pope was unable to defend himself, offered to be a Mediatour of Peace between them. But the French King, flushed with Success, refused or neglected his Proposal, which so inflamed the vigorous mind of the Young King, that he declared to the World, As he scorned to be neglected, so he abhorred to be idle in this affair, and therefore resolved by Invading the *D*ominions of France, to withdraw that King out of the Pope's Territories. In pursuance of this couragious resolution, he instantly sends Ambassadors to King Lewis, requiring him to deliver up to him the peaceable possession of his two Dutchies of Guien and Normandy, together with his Ancient Inheritance of Anjou and Mayn, which had for many Years been wrongfully detained from his Predecessors and himself.

The little acquaintance that the French King had with Henry, and the contempt of his Youth caused him to return a slighting denial of this his demand; whereupon King Henry proclaimed War against him, and resolved to Invade his Countrey in Person, with a gallant Army, and believing no Man more proper to make provision for this great Expedition than his Almoner Woolsey: The King committed the sole management thereof to his Wisdom and Policy, and he scrupling no command of the King's, undertook this difficult charge; and proceeded therein so dexterously, that all things were in a very short time provided necessary for this noble Voyage. Upon which the King Marched with his Army to Dover, and Transporting them to Callice, he proceeded in order of Battle, to the strong Town of Tymyn, which he vigorously assaulted and took. In which Siege the Emperor Maximilian, with Thirty Noblemen repaired to his Camp, and were all inrolled in the King's Pay. The King Marched from thence to Tournay, which he likewise attack'd with such briskness, that it was soon surrendred to him; which Bishoprick the King bestowed upon his Almoner Woolsey, in recompence

compence for his care and diligence in this Expedition. And then the King returned into England, where he was welcomed with the News of a great Victory, obtained by the Earl of Surrey, againſt James King of Scotland, he himſelf being Slain, with divers of his Nobility; and 18000 Scots and French, who came to his aſſiſtance.

After the King's return the Biſhoprick of Lincoln becoming void, he beſtowed the ſame upon his Lord Almoner, and then the Archbiſhoprick of York, which was likewiſe vacant. Laſtly, he obtained of the Pope to be made a Cardinal, and his Maſter Henry, for his great Zeal to the Holy Chair, had the new Title of Defender of the Faith, confer'd upon him. Being ſuddenly mounted to ſuch a mighty height, and the King's affection daily increaſing, it made him ſo extream proud and inſolent, that he thought none to be his equal; and erected Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and had the boldneſs to ſummon the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and all other Biſhops and Clergymen to appear before him. And as his Authority was ſuperiour to all, ſo he exceeded them all in Covetouſneſs and Ambition; ſo that for many Years the Kingdom groaned under his monſtrous Oppreſſions, and violent Depredations. Yet his Ambition was ſo exceſſive, that he ſtill hunted after greater Dominion; intermedling with affairs wherein he was not concerned, eſpecially in the Chancellorſhip, which then pertained to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who being Old, and perceiving how great a Favourite Woolſey was with the King, he choſe rather to deliver up the Seals than have them taken from him. Upon this ſurrender the King delivered them to Woolſey; which Favours and Dignities might have ſatisfied any, but the inſatiable mind of this Mighty Prelate, who was now Cardinal, Archbiſhop, Lord Chancellor, and Councellor of State.

But he ſtill aimed to be Higher, and to gratifie his humour this occaſion offered: In 1517. Pope Leo

ſent Cardinal Campeius, as his Legate to King Henry, to Solicite him (as he had done the Kings of France, and Spain, and the Princes of Germany) to join in a League againſt the Turks, who made horrible ravages into Chriſtendom. The ſubtil Cardinal being ſenſible that when Campeius arrived, he muſt have the precedency of him upon all occaſions, on the account of his Legateſhip; he privately ſent two Biſhops to Callice, as if to attend on him, who cunningly inſinuated into Campeius, that his Journey would be ineffectual, unleſs Woolſey were joined in equal Authority with him in this matter. Whereupon Campeius diſpatched an account thereof to Rome, and in Forty Days received a new Commiſſion, whereby Woolſey was made the Pope's Legate, and joint Commiſſioner with him. But Woolſey having notice of the ragged condition of his Brother's Retinue, he inſtantly ſent a great quantity of Red Cloath to Callice, wherewith to Cloath his Servants, anſwerable to the Dignity of ſo great a Perſonage. When all things were ready, Campeius paſſed the Seas and landed at Dover, and in his paſſage to London, by Woolſeys Order, he was received with Proceſſion by the Clergy, and Magiſtrates through every Town he came to, and attended by all the Lords and Gentlemen of Kent. Being arrived at Black-heath, near Greenwich; he was there met by the Duke of Norfolk, a great number of Prelates and Clergy, and many Perſons of Quality. The Cardinal was brought into a Tent covered with Cloth of Gold, where he ſhifted himſelf into his Cardinals Robes, Furred with Rich Ermin; and then mounting his Mule rid toward London, having Eight Mules more laden with his Equipage attending him, but theſe not being ſufficiently Magnificent in proud Woolſey's Eyes, he therefore ſent him twelve more to make the Pageantry more gay, through the Streets of London. The next day theſe Twenty Mules were led through the City, as if loaden with treaſures

sures, and other necessaries, to the great admiration of the People, that the Legate should be possest of such vast Riches, but their wonder quickly ceased by an unlucky accident, which turned all this vain Pomp into ridicule. For in going through Cheapside one of the skittish Jades, affrighted with the multitude of Spectators, broke the Collar he was led with, and running upon the other Mules put them all into such disorder, that they threw their Sumpters to the ground, which flying open, discovered the Cardinal's gallant Wealth, some of them being filled with old Cloaths, Rags, old Boots and Shoes, Horshoes, and old Iron: Others with Marybones, Scraps of Meat, Roasted Eggs, Mouldy Crusts, and a great deal of other Trumpery, which gave sufficient diversion to the People, who shouted and clap'd their hands at this ridiculous sight; crying, Behold the Cardinal's Rich Treasure. The Muliteers were much ashamed at this discovery; however quietly gathering up these hungry relicks, they peaceably marched on: Cardinal Campeius was conducted through the City to St. Pauls, where having bestowed his blessing upon the People, he was then brought to Cardinal Woolsey's Palace, where he lodged, having his Golden Crosses, Pillars, Guilt Axe, and Mace carried before him.

And now as Cardinal Woolsey had the Power, so he maintained the Port and Grandeur of a Prince; of which we have this account, He had in his Hall three long Tables, to which belonged three several Officers, a Steward who was always a Priest, a Treasurer a Knight, and a Comptroller an Esq;. He had also in the Hall a Confessor, a Doctor, three Marshalls, three Ushers, two Almoners, and two Grooms: In the Hall Kitchin, two Clarks, a Comptroller, a Surveyor over the Dresser, a Clerk of the Spicery, two Cooks, twelve Labourers and Children: In the Kitchin a Master Cook, Clothed in Velvet or Sattin, with a Gold Chain, two Under Cooks, six Labourers, four Scullery-men, two Yeomen of the Pastry, and two

Paſt-layers under him: In the Larder a Yeoman and a Groom: In the Buttery two Yeomen and two Grooms: In the Eury as many: In the Cellar three Yeomen, three Pages: In the Chandery two Yeomen: In the Wayfary, two Yeomen: In the Wardrobe of the Beds, the Maſter and twenty Perſons beſides: In the Landrey, a Yeoman, a Groom, and thirteen Pages; two Yeomen Purveyors, and a Groom Purveyor: In the Bake-houſe, two Yeomen, two Grooms: In the Woodyard a Yeoman and a Groom: In the Barn a Yeoman: Two Yeomen, and two Grooms Porters at the Gate: A Yeoman of his Bing: A Maſter of his Horſe: A Clerk and Yeomen of the Stables: A Farrier and Yeoman of the Stirrup: A Maſter and ſixteen Grooms, every one keeping four Geldings.

His Chappel was furniſhed with a vaſt number of coſtly Ornaments, and Rich Jewels, Forty four Copes gloriouſly imbroidered with Gold and Silver, Silver Candleſticks, and other neceſſary Utenſils: In which were the following Officers, a Dean, a Sub Dean, a Repeater of the Quire, a Goſpellor, an Epiſtoler of the Singing Prieſts, a Maſter of the Children: In the Veſtry, a Yeoman and two Grooms, beſide other Retainers that appeared at principal Feaſts.

He had likewiſe two Croſs-bearers, and two Pillar-bearers in the Great Chamber; and in his Privy-Chamber the Chief Chamberlain, Vice Chamberlain, Gentleman Uſher, twelve Waiters, ſix Gentlemen Waiters: Alſo nine or ten Lords, who had two or three Men to wait on them, and the Earl of Darby five. Then he had Gentlemen Cup-bearers, Carvers and forty Sewers of the Great and Privy Chamber, ſix Yeomen Uſhers, eight Grooms, twelve Doctors and Chaplains, daily Gueſts, beſides his own, a Clerk of his Cloſet, two Secretaries, two Clerks of his Signet, four Councellours Learned in the Law.

As he was Lord Chancellour of England, he had a Riding Clerk, a Clerk of the Crown, of the Hamper,

per, of the Check, four Footmen with gallant Liveries, a Herald at Arms, a Serjeant at Arms, a Phisician, an Apothecary, four Minstrels, a Keeper of his Tents (when upon a Journey) and an Armourer. Also in his House, a Surveyor of York, a Clark of the Green Cloth. All these attended daily. At Dinner he had every day eight Tables furnisht for his Chamberlains and Gentlemen Officers, half of whom were young Lords, who had two or three Persons to wait on them, and all the rest had one. These were all his inrolled Servants, (besides Retainers and other Persons that came about business, who daily Dined in his Hall) which according to the List amounted to eight hundred Persons. So that he was as bountiful an House-keeper as any in that Age, and much superior to any since.

When he went to Westminster Hall to hear Causes as Lord Chancellor. his Magnificence was as conspicuous as in other Offices. He was cloathed in red like a Cardinal, his upper Garment all of Scarlet, or else fine Crimson Taffety, or Crimson Satin in Grain. A black Tippet of Sables about his Neck, and an Orange in his hand, the Meat taken out, and filled with Confections to prevent the ill scents from the Crouds of People. Being mounted, his two Cross bearers, and his two Pillar bearers all in fine Scarlet upon tall Horses rid before him, then one with the Purse and Great Seal of England. Another with his Cardinals Cap, then a train of Gentlemen with every one a Pole-ax, next the Cardinal himself, attended on each side by four Footmen. In the same State he used to go every Sunday to the Court at Greenwich in a very rich Barge, and furnisht with Yeomen all round, where when he arrived he was attended by the Lord Treasurer, Comptroller and other principal Officers of the King's House, who conveyed him in State into the King's Chamber.

In this grandeur he continued for fourteen or fifteen years managing all affairs of State, to whom all foreign

foreign Ambaſſadors made their application, and all Addreſſes and Petitions were offered. And to ſecure this Soveraign Power which he had gained over the King's affections, he contrived all kind of pleaſures and divertiſements ſuitable to his juvenile temper, as Maſking, Dancing, Banquetting, Young Ladies, and variety of other Paſtimes. I ſaw the King (ſaith my Author) come one time ſuddenly to the Cardinals Palace at Weſtminſter now White-Hall which he had newly built, with a dozen Maſquers attired like Shepherds in cloth of Gold and Silver imbroidered, with ſix Flambeux: And others in Vizors clothed all in Sattin. The King came thither privately by Water, and arriving at the Stairs, ſeveral great Guns were diſcharged, which much ſurprized the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ladys, a great number of whom the Cardinal at that time was treating at a ſumptuous Supper, he himſelf ſitting at the upper end of the Table under a Cloth of State, a Gentleman and Lady being placed together through all the Tables. The Cardinal at the great noiſe, as if ignorant of the matter, deſired the Lord Chamberlain to inquire the meaning thereof. Who looking out of the Window into the Thames returned again and told him that he believed there were ſome Noblemen and Strangers coming to the Landing Stairs. My Lord ſaid the Cardinal I intreat you who can ſpeak French, to go and receive them and conduct them to our Banquet, deſiring them to ſit down and be merry with us. The Lord Chamberlain went into the Hall. And with twenty Torches, and a great number of Drums and Trumpets brought them into the Dining Room, who by two together went up to the Cardinal's Chair, and ſaluted him. To whom the Lord Chamberlain ſaid, My Lord Cardinal theſe Gentlemen being Strangers, and not ſpeaking Engliſh, deſire me to inform your Grace that they hearing of your Triumphant and Magnificent Banquet this Night, and of ſuch a number of handſome Ladies as were aſſembled thereto, they preſumed upon your Graces

goodneſs

goodness to intrude into your Palace to take a view of these fine beauties and to offer our service to them. The Cardinal replied they were welcome, whereupon having saluted all the Ladies, a great Cup of Gold filled with Crown Pieces was opened and they thrown on the Table to play withal. After they had play'd some time, the Gentlemen came and threw down their winnings before the Cardinal being about two hundred Crowns; Have at all, quoth he, and throwing a Die he won it, whereat the company seemed much pleased.

Then said the Cardinal, My Lord Chamberlain, Pray go and tell these Gentlemen that I am of opinoin there is a Nobleman among them who better deserves to sit in this place than I, and to whom I would gladly surrender it according to my duty if I knew him. The Lord Chamberlain spoke to them in French, and they replied, That they must confess there was such a Noble Personage among them, whom if his Grace could distinguish from the rest he would then discover himself and accept of his Place. The Cardinal taking a strict review of them said, I believe the Gentleman with the black Beard is he, and thereupon he rose up and offered him his Chair with the Cup in his hand; But it was Sir Edward Nevil who was very like King Henry, and the King seeing the Cardinal's mistake could not forbear laughing, and pulling off his Vizor and Sir Edward's likewise, discovered himself to all his Guests, and then withdrawing, clothed himself in his Royal Robes. In which short space the former Banquet was clear taken away, and the Tables new covered again with perfumed Linnen, and the King and his Masquers returning again in their rich Cloths a Royal Banquet of two hundred Dishes was brought in, where they continued Feasting and Dancing till the next Morning.

As these Entertainments discover the extream Magnificence wherein the Cardinal lived, so they also shew the familiar temper of King Henry, whom one

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Hiſtorian ſays, was ſo free from Pride, that he was rather too humble, at leaſt he converſed with his Subjects in a more familiar manner than is uſual with Princes. VVhich is confirmed by a Paſſage in the eleventh year of his Reign, when the Privy Council complaining that certain young Gentlemen in his Court with whom he was over-familiar were ſo Frenchified, that forgetting the reſpect due to his Royalty, they uſed many unſeemly actions and diſcourſes with him, they were thereupon with his conſent baniſhed the Court, and ſeveral other antient grave Knights and Gentlemen placed in their Rooms about the King's Perſon.

Neither did the Cardinals grandeur conſiſt only in the aforementioned inſtances, but likewiſe in erecting coſtly and magnificent Houſes and Palaces, as York Place at Weſtminſter ſo named by him from his Archbiſhoprick, now Whitehall. Hampton Court, his ſtately buildings at Chriſt Church and Windſor. He likewiſe deſigned to have built two new Colleges in Oxford and Ipſwich the Town of his Birth, and obtained a Licenſe of Pope Clement to ſuppreſs forty Monaſteries, and ſeize the Revenues thereof to perform the ſame. And for the farther ſupport of his Dignity he enjoyed at one time no leſs than ſeven rich Biſhopricks, that is York, Winchester, Lincoln, Tournay, Bath, VVorceſter and Hereford, ſo that he ſeemed a Monſter with ſeven Heads, each of them honoured with a Miter.

He being thus imperiouſly Great, more like a Prince than a Prieſt, was continually inventing new ways for getting of Money. For he required an account of the Captains, Treaſurers and other Officers that had been imployed in paying the Souldiers in the VVars, ſome of whom he obliged to refund great ſums of their ill gotten Eſtates, who made themſelves poor to inrich him. Others compounded with him for half they were worth. But thoſe that had deceived the King, and then prodigally ſpent what they had wrongfully gained,

gained, were exposed to publick shame and punishment. So that none suffered, though deeply Criminal, but only for the Mortal Sin of Poverty. He likewise erected several Courts of Equity, as he called them, but the People named them Courts of Iniquity, in which upon pretence of relieving the poor from the rigour of the Law he brought such a multitude of Causes into them that the other Courts of Justice were abandoned, and he thereby gained vast Treasures to himself: Till at length the People perceiving that he only grew Rich and themselves poor, and that the Verdicts in these Courts would not stand in Common Law, they utterly left them and returned to the former course of Proceeding. He likewise erected another new Court which he called the Legantine Court, whereby he visited all Bishopricks and Monasteries, punishing such Clergymen as were unable to bribe him, but inriching himself by those who were full of Money and full of Faults. By the same Authority he suppresst several Abbies and Priories, seizing all their Goods and Lands, leaving only a small Pension to the Abbots and Priors, whereby he purchased great riches and and great hatred from the Clergy; who in many places opposed his Visitor Dr. Allen (who rid in a Velvet Gown with a great Train following him) and for which they were openly cursed by Dr. Forrest at Paul's Cross, so that the Cardinal prevailed against them all; and caused the generality to murmur and complain, that by his Visitations, Probate of Wills, granting of Faculties, Licenses, and other Tricks, he made his constant revenue equal to the King's, besides great sums which he yearly conveyed out of the Realm to the Court of Rome.

In 1517. The Citizens of London were so highly provoked by the multitude of French and Walloons who setling here undersold their goods, and thereby impoverisht them, that they resolved to endeavour to rid themselves of this annoyance all at once. Whereupon John Lincoln a Broker persuaded one Dr. Bell

to

to represent this great grievance to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in a Sermon at the Spittle on Easter Tuesday. The Doctor undertook the business, and took these words for his Text, *The Heaven is the Lord's, but the Earth he hath given to the Sons of men.* From hence he infer'd that this Land was given to Englishmen, who were obliged to defend the same as Birds do their Nests, and to fight for their Country, by the Law of God, against all Strangers and Foreigners, who to the great trouble, vexation and ruin of the People had now over-run the Land. and for which there was no redress to be had but by the Commons uniting themselves together and extirpating them out of the City and Kingdom; and thereby avenge themselves of the many affronts and abuses which they had lately publickly offered them. This Sermon inflamed the Minds of the Citizens who were sufficiently inraged before, so that they took all occasions to quarrel with the Foreigners, and a rumor was spread that the next May day would be very remarkable. The Cardinal and Council hearing of it, ordered the Lord Mayor to keep strong Watches throughout the City. However on May Eve several hundreds of young Fellows got together, and in the Morning they fell to rifling the Houses of several Foreigners, but four or five hundred of them being seized by the Lord Mayor, were committed to Prison, and two hundred seventy eight were afterward indicted for High Treason, but John Lincoln only was executed, the King by the intercession of three Queens, Katherine Queen of England, and the French Queen, and Queen of Scots his Sisters, and by the persuasion of Cardinal VVoolsey, without whose advice he would do nothing, pardoning all the rest, who being in number four hundred men and eleven women, were brought by the Lord Mayor with Ropes about their Necks into VVestminster Hall, where the Cardinal severely reprimanded the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for their negligence in not securing the peace of the City, and then aggravated the high

high crime of the Prisoners, who had justly deserved death. Upon which they all cried to the King for mercy who thereupon told them, That he would pardon them all, which he had no sooner pronounced but the Prisoners gave a loud shout all at once, throwing up their Halters toward the top of the Hall, and so were dismissed, and the Gibbets that had been set up in several parts of the City for their Execution were taken down, and afterwards this was named, The evil May Day.

About this time Maximilian the Emperor died, and Charles V. his Son succeeded him in the Empire of Germany, the Kingdom of Spain and the Low Countrys. Upon which Cardinal VVoolsey was sent over to Bruges in Flanders to condole with, and Congratulate the young Emperor who was then Resident there, being furnisht for his Journey in all respects like a Great Prince, his Attendants being clothed some in Crimson, Velvet and Chains of Gold about their Necks. Others in fine Scarlet edged with black Velvet; and was received by the Emperor with as much honour as if he had been the King himself, having the Great Seal of England with him which was always carried before him, being served upon the knee by several English Noblemen and Gentlemen, to the admiration of the Germans for his strange Pride and Insolence. After which he returned into England in great Triumph, being more in favour with the King than before.

The French King Lewes being weary of the VVar with England, and having a great Kindness for the Lady Mary King Henry's Sister, sent Ambassadors to Treat of Peace, and of a Marriage with her. *Both* which were soon concluded, and the Lady was sent to France and Crowned Queen at Paris, the French declaring, That they thought themselves the happiest People in the VVorld, who had so good a King and fair a Queen to reign over them. But King Lewes after twelve weeks converse with his most beautiful Lady died,

died, and his Brother Francis I. succeeded him, who renewed the former amity between the two Kingdoms, and for further confirmation of the same desired an enterview between them, which the Cardinal persuaded the King to gratifie him in. VVhereupon King Henry and his Queen, attended by VVoolsey and a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen sailed over to Callice, and in a plain near Guisnes a large Palace of Timber was framed, where both the Kings met and imbraced each other with much seeming affection and where nothing was wanting as to Justs, Turnaments, and the other Princely Military Exercises of that age, which were proper for such a Royal Assembly.

Soon after Charles the Emperor coming out of Spain to Sail into the Low Countrys, landed at Dover, where he was received and entertained by the Cardinal, and King Henry went to Canterbury to meet with him, and having sumptuously treated him for a few days, the Emperor pursued his Voyage to Flanders in forty four men of VVar. A while after some differences happened between the French King and the Emperor, to compose which Cardinal VVoolsey with some other Noblemen were sent, but they not prevailing, King Henry fell from the French King alledging that he had stirred up the Scots to make VVar with him, but King Francis laid all the blame on the Cardinal's dissimulation and base treacherous practices. However the VVar proceeded betwixt the two Kingdoms, between the French King and the Duke of Bourbon, insomuch that the Duke fled out of France to the Emperor to save his life, the Cardinal having notice of it, he contrived that he should be King Henry's General against the French King. VVho thereupon raised a great Army against Burbon, and drove him into the Town of Pavia in Italy, where he was so closely belieged that he could get no Provisions, the Cardinal being secretly corrupted by the French King to withhold his pay, so that his Souldiers were ready to mutiny against their new General. Hereupon finding his case desperate,

rate, he resolved to attempt an escape, and in the dead of the Night, he sent part of his Forces to attack that part of the French Camp which was weakest, himself marching out on the other side the City. The Guards being weak, and the Souldiers asleep, it caused a very great disturbance among the French, who turned their Cannon toward the Assaulters, when Burbon falling unexpectedly upon the backs of them drove them from their Cannon, which they turned upon themselves, slew their Souldiers, cut down their Tents, and took Francis the French King Prisoner. This great success so much incouraged these brave Germans, that with their Imperial Ensigns displayed, they marched to Florence, and thence to Rome; and gave three Assaults to the Walls thereof in one day, in the last of which the Duke of Burbon was slain, however his Army being commanded by the Prince of Orange, and some other brave Generals, the Popes Palace, and the Castle of St. Angelo were taken, and the Pope was made Prisoner, with twenty four Cardinals that fled thither for security. The City of Rome also was plundred, where the Souldiers gained a very rich booty, so that they were overloaden with valuable Jewels Plate and Money: During the Siege the Souldiers would often Cloath a Man like the Pope, and set him on Horseback with a Whore behind him, who sometimes blest, and sometimes curst as he rid along, and whom the Souldiers called Antichrist.

The Cardinal hearing of the misfortune of his Father the Pope, endeavoured by all means to induce K. Henry to declare War against the Emperour, and to shew himself the Defender of the Church, but the King replied; 'My Lord, I am more disturbed at this 'unhappy chance, than my Tongue can express; but 'whereas you say, that I as Defender of the Faith 'ought to be concerned therein; I do assure you my 'opinion is, That this War between the Pope and 'the Emperor, is not a War of Religion, or for the 'Faith,

'Faith, but for Temporal Poſſeſſions and Dominions and now Pope Clement is in the hands of Souldiers, What can I do? I can neither aſſiſt him with my Perſon, nor my People cannot reſcue him, but if my Treaſure will help him take what you think convenient. Whereupon Woolſey took two hundred and forty thouſand pound out of the Exchequer, which he carried over to Callice; and from thence in 80 Waggons, and a Guard of 1200 Horſe, 60 Mules and Sumpter Horſes, and attended with a great number of Lords and Gentlemen, he conveyed this great Sum to the French Court at Amiens. Having before his going hence, ſent out Commiſſions to all the Biſhops of England, to Sing the Litany after this manner, *Holy Mary pray for our Holy Pope Clement*; *Holy Holy Peter pray for Pope Clement*, &c. And thus was the Cardinal diſappointed in adviſing the King to declare the Duke of Bourbon his General, who proceeded farther then he could ever have imagined.

The Cardinals ambition being unlimited, he during the Impriſonment of the Pope, ſent to the Emperour to uſe his intereſt to advance him to the Papacy; but receiving a diſobliging anſwer, he grew thereupon ſo furious that he ſent the Emperor word, That if he would not endeavour his advancement, he would make ſuch a ruſtling among the Chriſtian Princes as there had not been the like for an hundred years before; though it ſhould coſt him the whole Kingdom of England. The Emperour anſwering this inſolent Letter in Print, bid the Cardinal have a care of undertaking what might both ruin himſelf and the Kingdom. Hereupon the Cardinal ſent private Letters to Clarentius King at Arms, to join with the French Herald, and proclaim defiance to the Emperour: Who ſuſpecting that it was done without the King's knowledge, ordered his Ambaſſadour at London to complain thereof.

The King much wondered to hear of it, and the Cardinal confidently affirmed that he knew nothing

of

of the matter, but that it was the fault of Clarentius, who had done it at the requeſt of the French Herald; for which he ſwore he ſhould loſe his Head when he came to Callice: Clarentius having intelligence hereof, inſtantly Imbark'd at Bullen, and coming to Greenwich, was introduced by ſome of his Friends into the King's Preſence, before the Cardinal knew of it, and produced the Cardinals Letters, Commiſſion, and Inſtructions for what he had done. At which the King was ſo ſurprized that he ſtood ſome time ſilent, and then ſaid, 'O Lord Jeſus! He 'that I truſted moſt hath deceived me, and given a 'falſe account of my Affairs. Well Clarentius, for the 'future I ſhall take care whom I believe, for I now 'find I have been informed of a great many things 'as true, which I now find to be utterly falſe. And from that time the King withdrew his favour and confidence from him.

Some time before this the Cardinal ſent Letters to Doctor Stephen Gardiner, the King's Orator at Rome; (and afterward Biſhop of Wincheſter) urging him to uſe all manner of means for advancing him to the Papal Dignity, which he ſaid, nothing could induce him to aſpire to, but the vehement deſire he had to reſtore and advance the Authority of the Church, wherein no Man ſhould be more Zealous and indefatigable than himſelf. He likewiſe ingaged the French King, and King Henry to write to the Cardinals on his behalf, that he might ſucceed after the Death of Pope Clement; and vaſt Sums of Money were waſted in this buſineſs, but all the Cardinals ambitious thoughts proved abortive; and as he already began to ſtagger in the King's favour, ſo in a ſhort time he fell into his high diſpleaſure. For theſe extravagant expences drained the King's Treaſury ſo low, that the Cardinal was compell'd to contrive new ways for filling them again. To which end he, without the King's knowledge, and by his own Authority Iſſued out Commiſſions under the Great

Great Seal, to every County in England, for taking an account of every Man's Estate; and he that was worth Fifty Pound, was charged to pay Four Shillings in the Pound: All that were worth above Twenty, and under Fifty Pound, Two Shillings in the Pound; and those not worth Twenty Pound, to pay Twelve pence, to be paid either in Money, or Plate, making himself chief Commissioner for raising the same in and about London: The Clergy were likewise charged at four Shillings in the Pound for their Livings.

These unjust Proceedings were grievous both to the Clergy and People, who generally refused to comply, alledging, That these Commissions were contrary to Law, and against the Liberty of the Subject, and that it was not possible for those who were worth more, yet to raise the half of what they were charged with, either in Plate or ready Money, and therefore they Petitioned the Cardinal to intercede with the King for remitting it: To whom he haughtily replied, That he would rather have his Tongue pluck'd out of his Mouth with Pincers, then move any such thing; and that he was resolved to make them pay the utmost Farthing; and the Lord Viscount Lisle one of the Commissioners in Hampshire, sending a Letter to the Cardinal, that he doubted the raising this Money would occasion an Insurrection, he swore deeply, that his not following the Instructions given him, should cost him his Head.

But however the discontents of the People were so general, that the Cardinal doubting the Event, thought fit to recal those Commissions, and to issue others whereby he demanded a sixth part of every Mans Estate, according to the aforesaid Rates; which he did not doubt, but they would have complied with; but on the contrary, they renewed their complaints and cursed the Tyrannical Cardinal for his Arbitrary Proceedings, which at length reach'd the King's Ear, who being told that all Places were filled with

with Clamours, Discontents and Mutinies, he openly protested that these Commissions were issued out without his Knowledge or Consent; and to prevent farther Mischief he by Proclamation vacated them, declaring that though his necessities were never so urgent, yet he would never force his Subjects to pay any Tax without their own consent in Parliament, but that his wants being extream at this time, if they would of their own accord, by way of Benevolence, supply his present exigencies, he should accept it as an infallible Proof of their Love and Duty toward their Soveraign.

The Cardinal perceiving himself obliquely struck at by this Proclamation, as the principal Author of these heavy Pressures, and publick Grievances, he Politickly sent for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London before him, to whom he declared, That perceiving the former Demands to be grievous to the People, he had upon his Knees (for the Love and Kindness he bore toward them) perswaded the King to annul those Commissions, and wholly to relie upon the free Gift of his People; and though the King might have justly demanded the former Summs as a due Debt, yet he freely released them of the same; not doubting but they would equal if not exceed the Rates formerly required of them; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen assembled their respective Wards, and acquainted them with the King's desire, but the Citizens absolutely refused to give any thing, alledging that they had pay'd enough already, and were able to do no more, adding many opprobrious Words against the Cardinal, who having notice of it, sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen again, saying, he would examine them upon Oath what they were worth, which they also denied to have done; and one of their Counsellours pleaded; that the demanding or paying of any Benevolence was contrary to the Statute made in the I. Year of King Richard III. What, says the Cardinal, do you quote

quote a Law made by an Uſurper and Murtherer? the Counſellour replied, the Act was made by the Lords and Commons of England, and not by him alone; Well, my Lord Mayor and Aldermen ſaid the Cardinal, pray tell me what you will give; My Lord pray excuſe me, ſaid the Lord Mayor, for if I ſhould offer any thing, I do not know but it may coſt me my Life; 'What for your kindneſs to your King, 'that's very ſtrange, ſaid the Cardinal, why then I 'am afraid you will conſtrain the King to force you 'to your Duty; well my Lord, pray go home, and 'tell your Neighbours, the King will be very kind 'to them, if they do but ſhew their good will to 'him in ſome competent ſumm; next day the Lord Mayor called a Common Council, where it was unanimouſly Voted, that the Meeting of the Aldermen in their reſpective Wards in order to the demanding a Benevolence of the Subject was contrary to Law, and therefore not to be regarded; two or three of the Common Council moved, that every Man ſhould go to the Cardinal, and give him privately what they thought fit, but this ſo inraged the reſt, that they required that theſe Men ſhould be for ever baniſht and excluded from ſitting in the Common Council, and ſo the Court broke up in diſorder, and every Man went to his own home.

Neither had this Project better ſucceſs in other places of this Realm, the People in Kent, Eſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, &c. aſſembling three or four thouſand in a Company, and openly declaring againſt the Benevolence, and the Duke of Norfolk coming to them, and demanding what was the cauſe of their Inſurrection, and who was their Captain; was anſwered, that Poverty was both their Cauſe and Captain, the great Taxes they had already paid, having ſo ruined their Trades that they had not Bread for their Families, nor Work to imploy them in; deſiring the Duke to mediate with the King on their behalf.

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The King having daily Intelligence of these disorders, thought it dangerous to proceed further in this matter; and therefore summoned a great Council to York Place (now Whitehall), where he again made a solemn Protestation, That he never designed to demand any thing of his People, which might tend to the breach of the Laws, and therefore desired to know by whose Order those Commissions were issued out, to demand the Sixth Part of every Man's Estate; the Cardinal answered, That it was done by the consent of the whole Council, and by the Advice of the Judges, for the supply of the King's wants, who said it might lawfully be demanded, and that he took God to witness he never designed to oppress the Subject, but like a true and just Counsellour contrived how to inrich the King; and some Clergy-men had told him, that it might be done by the Law of God, because Joseph caused Pharaoh King of Egypt, to take the Fifth Part of every Man's Goods in that Land; 'But however, said he, since I find every 'Man is willing to free himself of this burden, I am 'content to take upon me the scandal of it, and bear 'the ill Will of the Multitude, for my good Will to-'ward the King, and to clear you my Lords and 'Counsellours, but the Eternal God knoweth all; Well, said the King, I have been informed that my Realm was never so rich as now, and that no trouble would have risen upon this demand, since every Man would freely pay it at the first request, but now I find all contrary; at which all held their Peace; Come, said the King, I'll have no more of these disturbances; pray send Letters to every County in England to recal the Benevolence, I will freely pardon what is past, but pray let me hear no more of it; The Lords on their Knees returned the King thanks, and Letters were sent accordingly, wherein, somewhat to excuse the Cardinal, it was inserted, That the Lords, Judges, and others of the Privy Council first contrived that demand, and that the

Cardinal only concurred with them in it; but however the Common People had a mortal Averſion to him for this, and many other illegal Practices, and his Intereſt with the King ſeemed likewiſe daily to leſſen; and to diſoblige the Court, he inſinuated into the King, that his Family was much out of Order, and thereupon undertook to reform the ſame by removing ſeveral Officers and Servants from their Places, and putting ill Men in their Rooms; He likewiſe preſented his Mannor and Palace of Hampton-Court to the King, a little to ſweeten him; in recompence of which, the King gave him leave to keep his Court in his Palace at Richmond, wherein King Henry VII*th* did ſo extreamly delight; which yet made him the more abhorr'd both by the Courtiers and Common People, who reproachfully ſaid, *Who would ever have thought to have ſeen a Butcher's Dog lye in the Palace of Richmond.*

After this the Marriage of the King with Queen Katherine, his Brother Arthur's Widow began to be queſtioned; and ſome Authors ſay, the ſcruple about it was firſt put into the King's Head by Cardinal Woolſey, who being naturally revengeful, and never forgiving any Injury, moved it partly to be avenged on the Emperour, whoſe Siſter Queen Katherine was, for not making him Pope, and partly becauſe the Queen had often ſecretly and modeſtly reproved him for his Tyranny, Covetouſneſs, Oppreſſion, Pride, and Laſciviouſneſs; King Henry ſeemed very much diſturbed at this Motion, and deſired that the Legality of his Marriage might be debated among the Learned, pretending that he had no deſign in it, but only to ſatisfie his Conſcience, and to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion of the Crown in a rightful Heir, which could not be done if Queen Katherine were not his lawful Wife; upon this account religious Sorrow ſeemed to ſeize upon him, and he refrained from the Queen's Bed till by a Judicial Sentence, this grand Affair might be ſettled; the

the Cardinal to advance his Reputation higher with the King, procured a Commission from the Pope to himself and Cardinal Campeius, that before them as Supream Judges, this Question might be debated by legal Processes and Proceedings, and determined according to the Laws of God and Man; the King declared, that he intended nothing but Justice in the Case, and therefore allowed the Queen to chuse what Counsellours she pleased to defend her Cause, who accordingly nominated Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, West Bishop of Ely, Fisher Bishop of Rochester, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and some others.

Cardinal Campeius being again arrived in England, the two Legates caused a stately Court to be erected in Black Fryers, and their Commission being read, the Cryer called, Henry King of England, who answered, Here: Then he cried, Katherine Queen of England come into the Court; the Queen made no answer, but rising out of her Chair, came to the King and kneeling at his Feet, she in broken English spake thus to him;

'Sir, I beseech you do me Justice and right, and 'take some Pity upon me; I am a Poor Woman and 'a stranger Born out of your Dominions, having here 'no indifferent Council, and less Assurance of Friend-'ship; Alas Sir, how have I offended you, that you 'thus intend to shorten my Days; I take God to 'witness, I have been to you a True and Loyal Wife, 'ever conformable to your Will, and never contra-'dicting your desires; but have always complied and 'submitted to your Pleasure in all things, without the 'least grudging or discontent: For your sake I have 'loved all Men whom you loved, whether they were 'my Friends or Enemies; I have been your Wife 'these twenty Years, by whom you have had many 'Children; and when I first came to your Bed, God 'and your own Conscience knows that I was a Vir-'gin: If you can prove any dishonesty by me, where-'by you may lawfully put me from you, I am willing to

'leave you with ſhame and rebuke, but if I am guilty 'of none, I beſeech you ſet me have Juſtice at your 'hands. The King your Father was a man of excel- 'lent VViſdom in his time, and accounted a ſecond 'Solomon, and the King of Spain Ferdinand my Fa- 'ther was reckoned one of the wiſeſt Princes that has 'reigned there for many years. And doubtleſs they 'had both as wiſe Counſellors as any are at this day. 'And who could never have imagined when you and 'I were Married that ſuch new deviſes ſhould have 'been invented as to compel me to ſubmit to the de- 'crees of this Court, from whom I may expect to re- 'ceive wrong, and may be condemned for not anſwer- 'ing, but not to have Right adminiſtred to me, ſince 'I can have no indifferent Council aſſigned me to 'plead my Cauſe, but muſt make choice of your own 'Subjects who know your Mind and dare not contra- 'dict your VVill. Therefore I moſt humbly beſeech 'you ſpare till I know how my Friends in Spain will 'adviſe me. But if you will not, you may do your 'pleaſure.

Then making a low Curteſie to the King ſhe depar- ted out of the Court; Upon which the King bid the Crier call her back which he did, but ſhe refuſed to return, ſaying, *It is no indifferent Court to me, I will not go back.*

VVhen ſhe was gone the King declared to the Court, that ſhe had been a loyal loving and obedient Wife to him, and was endued with all the good qualities and virtues of a Woman either of her Dignity, or of any meaner Eſtate. After which Cardinal Woolſey ſaid, 'I humbly beſeech your Highneſs to declare to this 'audience whether I have been the firſt and chief 'Mover of this matter to your Highneſs or not, for I 'am much ſuſpected of all men. The King declared he was not, but rather adviſed the contrary, but that the ſpecial cauſe that moved him in this matter was a certain ſcruple of Conſcience upon ſome words ſpoken by the Biſhop of Bayon the French Ambaſſador upon

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a debate about a Marriage between the Lady Mary his only Daughter, and the Duke of Orleans second Son to the French King, and the Bishop desiring time to consult his Master whether the Lady Mary were Legitimate as being born of his Brother Arthur's Wife. This discourse so affected him, considering he had no Heirs Male, they all dying as soon as born, that he judged God Almighty was displeased at this match. Hereupon, considering the state of the Realm, and dispairing to have any more Children by his Queen, whereby the Kingdom might be endangered for want of a Prince to succeed him, and to quiet his own mind which was tossed with the Waves of troublesome doubts, he desired to have the opinion of the Learned Prelates and Pastors of the Realm whether by the Laws of God and the Land, he might take another Wife (if his first Marriage were not Legal) by which he might have more Issue. Affirming in the presence of God that he had no dislike to the Person nor Age of the Queen, with whom he could be content to live if it were the Will of God. Nor out of carnal Concupiscence or desire of change, but only for the setling of his Conscience.

After this the Court sate daily, where many subtile and learned Arguments and Disputations touching the lawfulness or insufficiency of the Marriage were handled, but the Queen Appealing to the Court of Rome for deciding this Question, from which she could not be dissuaded; The King expected a final definitive Sentence on his behalf, the two Legates declined to give it, which so inraged the King who now perceived their dissimulation, and that they purposely contrived delays, that from this time he had a mortal hatred against his false Favourite Woolsey, whom from a contemptible Birth and Estate, he had prefer'd to be Abbot of St. Albans, his Almoner, a Counsellor of State, Bishop of Winchester, Durham, Lincoln, Bath, Worcester, Hereford, Tournay, Archbishop of York, an Ambassador to Kings and Princes,

his Chancellor and a Cardinal, who by contriving this buſineſs, thereby to render himſelf Gracious with the King, and to be revenged of his Enemies, brought ruin and deſtruction at length upon himſelf.

For notwithſtanding the King excuſed him from being the Author of this ſcruple of Conſcience, yet Woolſey ſeemed at firſt very forward in promoting it, and to incline to have it determined according to the King's Mind, but afterward perceiving the fatal conſequences which might enſue thereupon, ſo as at length to ſhake the Infallibility of the Papal Chair, if the Caſe were decided according to the Scriptures, he declined proceeding therein. For if the Marriage was unlawful, then the former diſpenſation of Pope Julius was null and void, and if it was lawful then the Judgment of ſo many learned Univerſities as had given their Opinion to the contrary, was falſe. In this difficulty his Collegue Campeius went out of the Kingdom before the day of the final determination of the matter, leaving Woolſey to bear all the weight of the King's Indignation.

Another cauſe of the Cardinal's oppoſing the Divorce was, that the King during the Ventilation of this Knotty Caſe, had fallen in love with Mrs. Ann Bullen, who he after Married, one of the Maids of Honour to Queen Katherine, and Daughter to Sir Tho. Bullen, (afterward Earl of Wiltſhire) a Lady no way favourable to his Pontifical Grandeur, nor to the Superſtitions of the Church of Rome. So that when the King diſcovered his great affection for her, the Cardinal upon his Knees uſed many arguments to diſſuade him from it. Which the Lady had notice of, and therefore when the King once entertained him at a great Feaſt, She being preſent, among other diſcourſes ſaid, 'Sir is it not a marvellous thing to think 'into what great Debt this great Cardinal hath brought 'you, to all your Subjects? How ſo, quoth the King. Why, ſays ſhe, there is not a man in your whole Kingdom worth an hundred pounds but he hath made

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you a Debtor to him. (Meaning the Loan which the Cardinal had borrowed for the King some years before, and which he procured the House of Commons, who were most the King's Servants, to discharge without repaying a farthing, to the great loss of the People): Nay, added she, how many violencies and oppressions is he guilty of, to your great dishonour and disgrace, in divers parts of the Realm, so that if my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk, my own Father, or any other Nobleman had done but half so much wrong as he, they well deserved to lose their Heads. Then I perceive, said the King, that you are no friend of my Lord Cardinal's. Why Sir, quoth she, I have no cause, no more have any others that love the King. Neither has your Grace any reason to be kind to him, considering his indirect and unlawful actions. The King said no more, but went away.

The Council and the Nobility perceiving that the King's Heart was estranged from Woolsey, they resolved if possible utterly to depress him, for he was generally hated for his excessive Pride, insulting Tyranny, grievous oppressions, monstrous injustice, unsatiable covetousness, abominable debauchery, malicious and cruel revenge, and likewise for his secret Intreagues with the Pope and Church of Rome, whereby the King's Authority and Prerogative Royal in all things touching the Church and Clergy were made void. Hereupon they concluded him guilty of a Præmunire, and that consequently he had forfeited all his Promotions, Spiritual and Temporal, with all the rest of his Estate and likewise his Liberty to the King. These crimes the Nobility drew into Articles which were ingrossed and signed with their hands, and then delivered to the King. Which were as followeth:

I. That by subtil and indirect means he had procured himself, without the King's consent, to be made a Legate, whereby he deprived the Bishops and Clergy of England, of all jurisdiction in Ecclesiastical Affairs. II. That in all his Letters to Foreign Princes he

he uſed the inſolent ſtile of *Ego & Rex meus*, I and my King, as if the King were his Inferior or Servant. III. That he unchriſtianly and abominably ſlandered the Church of England to the Pope, affirming, *That they were Reprobates and without Faith*, and that there was an abſolute neceſſity for him to be made a Legate to reduce them to the true belief. IV. That without the King's conſent he carried the Great Seal of England to Flanders only for vain Glory, and to the great damage of the Subjects of England. V. That he being filthily powdered with the French Pox, by reaſon of his exceſſive Letchery and Debauched Life, did oft preſume to diſcourſe with, and caſt his unwholeſome Breath into the King's Face. VI. That he cauſed the Cardinals Hat to be put on the King's Coin. VII. That to obtain his Dignities he had conveyed out of the Realm 240000 *l.* at one time, and incredible ſums at other times: And to inrich the K. again had of his own accord ſent out Commiſſions for exacting infinite ſums contrary to Law, which raiſed hatred and inſurrections among the People againſt the King.

Theſe with many other Articles being charged againſt VVoolſey, he with his own Hand freely Subſcribed to them, confeſſing all of them to be true, throwing himſelf upon the King's mercy, hoping he would have forgiven him, but afterward finding that he diſpoſed of his Offices, and part of his Eſtate, he ſecretly procured a Bull from the Pope to Curſe and Excommunicate the King, unleſs he would reſtore to him all his Dignities and Lands, who likewiſe declared that the King himſelf nor no other authority on Earth but the Pope alone, had power to puniſh any Clergyman for any crime or offence whatſoever. This Bull, with the Letters ſent him by ſeveral Cardinals, to incourage him not to faint or be diſcouraged, aſſuring him of his Reſtoration, and that the King ſhould be certainly croſt in the buſineſs of his Marriage, ſo animated the Cardinal that he did not doubt of his re-advancement, if not with, yet without the King's

conſent,

consent, so that he made great preparations for his installment into his Archbishoprick of York, which he designed to solemnize with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence, to which purpose he had erected a stately seat of an extraordinary height in that Cathedral, resembling the Throne of the King, and writ Letters to the Nobility and Gentry of the North, wherein he kindly invited them to be present at his Installment, for which he had made extraordinary provision of all manner of Dainties.

These mighty preparations being made without acquainting the King therewith, and seeming to be in contempt of him, who had been so kind to allow him the Bishopricks of York and VVincheſter though justly forfeited to the Crown, caused the King to put a stop to his aspiring purposes, so that he sent order to the Earl of Northumberland to Arrest him, and deliver him to the Earl of Shrewsbury Lord High Steward of the Houshold. The Earl accordingly went to his Mannor of Caywood about seven Miles from York, and coming into his Chamber told him, he arrested him for High Treason in the King's name: The Cardinal was so astonisht that for some time he stood speechless, at length recovering himself, he said, You have no power to Arrest me, who am both a Cardinal and a Legate, and also a Peer of the See Apostolick of Rome, and ought not to be Arrested by any Temporal Power, for I am Subject to none, and none I will obey. Well, said the Earl, here is the King's Commission, and therefore I charge you to submit. I remember when I was sworn Warden of the Marches you your self told me that with my staff only, I might Arrest any man under the degree of a King, and now I am stronger, for I also have a Commission for what I have done. The Cardinal at length recollecting himself, Well, my Lord, said he, I am contented to submit, but though by negligence I fell into the danger of a Præmunire, whereby I forfeited all my Lands and Goods to the Law, yet my Person was under the

King's Protection, and I was pardoned that offence, therefore I much wonder I ſhould be now Arreſted, eſpecially conſidering I am a Member of the Sacred College at Rome, on whom no Temporal Man ought to lay hands; Well I find the King wants good Counſellors about him. He was then kept cloſe in one of his Chambers, and Dr. Auſtin his Phyſician was at the ſame time Arreſted for High Treaſon and ſent to the Tower. The Cardinal's Goods were all ſeized, and his Servants diſcharged: And he himſelf was ſo dejected that he continually lamented his hard fortune with ſuch a mean and unbecoming ſorrow as ſuch haughty Spirits are commonly ſubject to when they fall into adverſity, as having neither good Conſciences nor manly Courage to ſupport their drooping Spirits. From hence he was carried to the Earl of Shrewſbury's to Sheffeild, where he continued till the King ſent Sir William Kingſton Captain of the Guard and Conſtable of the Tower to bring him to London, the ſight of whom ſo daunted him that he redoubled his lamentations, and would receive no comfort, and much doubting he ſhould loſe his Head, he took ſo ſtrong a Purge, or poyſonous Potion, for fear of being brought to open puniſhment for his many enormities, as in a few days put an end to his Life at Leiceſter Abbey in his Journey toward London.

Being near his end he called Sir William Kingſton to him and ſaid, 'Pray preſent my Duty to his Ma'jeſty, who is a Noble and Gallant Prince, and of a 'reſolved Mind, for he will venture the loſs of his 'Kingdom rather than be contradicted in his deſires. 'I do aſſure you I have ſometimes kneeled three hours 'together to diſſuade him from his reſolutions but 'could never prevail, therefore you had need take 'care what you put into his Head for you can never 'get it out again. And now Mr. Kingſton, had I 'but ſerved God as diligently as I have ſerved the King 'he would never have forſaken me in my Gray Hairs, 'but this is the juſt reward that I receive for all my 'pains

'pains and labour, who neglected the Service of God, 'and studied only to please and humour my Prince.

He then proceeded to vilifie the Protestants whom he named Hellish Lutherans, and that the King should take care to suppress and extirpate them, as being the occasion of Rebellions and Insurrections in Bohemia and England in King Richard II's time, and other places, and that these Seditions and Heresies would ruin Holy Church, and bring destruction upon the Realm. About eight a Clock at Night he gave up the Ghost, as himself had predicted the day before. A Person in whose Arm he died, affirmed, that his Body when dead was as black as pitch, and so heavy that six men could hardly carry it, and stank so horribly that they were forced to bury him that very night before it was day. At which time so great a Tempest of Wind, and such a lothsome stench arose, that all the Torches were blown out, and the Corps being hastily thrown into the Grave was there left, without Tomb, Monument, or Remembrance. Of which the Poet thus writes,

And though from his own Store Woolsey might have
A Palace or a College for his Grave,
Yet here he lies interr'd as if that all
Of him to be remembred were his Fall:
Nothing but Earth to Earth, no pompous weight
Upon him but a Pebble or a Quair.

One Historian thus concludes his Story. Thus Lived and thus Died this great Cardinal, who was Proud and Ambitious, VVanton and Letcherous, Rich and Covetous, a Liar and a Flatterer, a Tyrant and Mercileſs, forgetful of his beginning, disdainful in his Prosperity, dispirited and base in adversity, and wretched in his end. VVhose Death made the King joyful, the Nobles jocund, and the People glad. This happened in 1530.

Thus died this mighty Prelate who though guilty of so-

so many horrid crimes, yet to the last hour pretended much zeal for the Church, breathing forth Death and murder against the Protestants, and charging them with those Rebellions and Disturbances which the Clergy only were the cause of, by their violent Counsels, and their bloody, cruel, illegal and arbitrary decrees and practices; Insomuch that Sir Richard Baker in his Chronicle of England, writing the Character of King Henry VIII. says thus: But it will be injurious to charge all the Blood spilt in his Reign to his account. They were the bloody Bishops that made those bloody Laws, and the bloody Clergy that put them in execution, the King oft-times scarce knowing what was done, and when he heard of some of them, he extreamly condemned their barbarous cruelty.

Remarks upon the Life, Actions and Fatal Fall of Thomas Cromwell *Earl of* Essex, *Favourite to King* Henry *the Eighth.*

In the Life of this Great Person we may remark, That those Noble Virtues which sometimes advance Men to Honour and Dignity are not always privileges intailed and appropriated to high Birth and honourable Descent. But that those that proceed from mean and abject Families are oftentimes indued with such singular Wisdom, Dexterity and Industry that they rise to high preferment and authority. We may likewise observe, That though his Predecessor Wolsey could not bear the great Fortune to which he arrived with any moderation, but by his Pride and Insolence became distastful to all men, yet our great Cromwell on the contrary carried an even Sail in all conditions, being neither elated with Prosperity, nor depress

depreſt when fallen from it. Laſtly, We may hence conclude with the Wiſe man, that all things happen alike to all in this life, Woolſey the greateſt ſlave to Vice, and Cromwell a Perſon of the moſt ſublime Virtue, being both Favourites to the ſame King, both falling into diſgrace with him, and both expiring by a fatal Fall.

Thomas Cromwell was the Son of a Blackſmith at Putney in Surrey, to whom may be applied what Juvenal ſaid of Demoſthenes the famous Orator, who had the ſame Original:

Whom his poor Father, blear-ey'd with the Soot
Of Sparks which from the burning Iron did ſhoot,
From Coals, Tongs, Anvil, and ſuch Blackſmiths Tools,
And dirty Forge, ſent to the Grammar Schools.

His Father educated him according to his mean ability, and though his low condition was at firſt a great hindrance to his promotion, yet ſuch was his pregnancy of wit, his ſolid judgment, his ready elocution, his indefatigable diligence, his couragious Heart and his active Hand, that ſo many excellencies could not lye long concealed, inſomuch that though he were without Friends or Money, yet nothing being too difficult for his Wit and Induſtry to compaſs, nor for his Capacity and Memory to retain, he ſoon got into Imployment. For having paſſed over his Youth with the common diverſions of that ſtate, when he grew toward man he had a great inclination to travel abroad and learn experience in the World, and gain thoſe Languages which might be ſerviceable to him in the future courſe of his Life. Whereupon going over to Antwerp he was there retained by the Engliſh Merchants for their Secretary.

It happened about this time that the People of Boſton in Lincolnſhire thought fit to ſend to Rome to renew the Great and Little Pardon which formerly belonged to a Church in their Town, by which they found

found much advantage from thoſe who came to have the benefit of the remiſſion of their Sins by them, which were no ſmall number of ſuperſtitious Zealots. And being very ſenſible that all things at Rome were to be purchaſed only by Money, they ſent one Jeffery Chambers with a round ſum upon this notable errand, who in his Journey coming to Antwerp, and much doubting his ability for managing ſo weighty a buſineſs, he made a viſit to Mr. Cromwell, and giving him an account of the affair, he was very importunate with him to accompany him. Cromwell knew very well the many Intreagues of the Roman Court, and the unreaſonable expences they muſt be at among thoſe Spiritual Cormorants; however having ſome knowledge of the Italian Tongue, and being not yet well ſetled in Religion, he was at length prevailed with to adventure with him. When they arrived at Rome, Cromwell finding it very difficult to get his Pardons diſpatcht, and being unwilling to ſpend much time or money, he at length perceived that nothing was to be done without making a Preſent of ſome Rarity to the Pope; and hearing that he was much delighted with, delicate new found Diſhes, he prepared ſeveral fine Diſhes of Jelly of divers colours according to the Engliſh faſhion, which were not as yet known at Rome. Cromwell obſerving his time when the Pope was newly returned to his Pallace from Hunting, he with his Engliſh Companions, approached him with their Preſents, which they introduced with ſinging in Engliſh the three Mans Song (as it is called): The Pope wondring at the Song, and underſtanding they were Engliſhmen, and came not empty handed, ordered them to be called in. Cromwell making low obeyſance, preſented his jolly junkets, being ſuch as, he ſaid, none but Kings and Princes in England uſe to Eat, deſiring his Holineſs to accept of them from him and his Companions, who were poor Suitors at his Court, and had preſented them as Novelties proper only for his Table. Pope Julius obſerving the ſtrangeneſs of

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the Diſhes bid a Cardinal taſte them, which he liked ſo well and the Pope after him, that inquiring what their buſineſs was, and then requiring them to give him an account how theſe Jellies were made, he without delay Sealed both the Great and Leſſer Pardons, and fully diſpatcht them.

All this while Cromwell had no great ſenſe of Religion, but was wild, youthful and without regard to any thing that was ſerious, as he often declared to Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being very diligent (with Jeffery Chambers) in publiſhing the Pardons of Boſton in all the Churches as he travelled, and ſerving ſometime under the Duke of Burbon at the Siege of Rome. Thus he continued for ſome years, till at length by learning the New Teſtament of Eraſmus by Heart in his going to and from Rome, he began to come to a better underſtanding. About this time Cardinal Woolſey began to grow very great in England, ruling all under, or rather over the King, ſo that Perſons of the briſkeſt Wits and noted Abilities addreſt themſelves to him for imployments. Among whom Thomas Cromwell was by him prefer'd to be his Chancellor; and at the ſame time Sir Thomas More and Stephen Gardiner were likewiſe taken into the Cardinals Family, being all three almoſt of one Age, one ſtanding in Learning, not much unequal in Wit, and their advancements ariſing from the ſame foundation, though afterward their Studies, Diſpoſitions and Fortune were greatly different.

The Cardinal deſigning to erect a famous Colledge in Oxford called then Frideſwide, now Chriſt-Church, obtained leave from the Pope to ſuppreſs ſeveral ſmall Monaſteries and Priories in divers parts of the Realm, and to convert the Revenues thereof to his own uſe. He committed the charge of this buſineſs to Cromwell, who uſed ſuch induſtry and expedition therein as was diſpleaſing to ſome Great Perſons both of the Nobility and Clergy. But afterward the Cardinal who had riſen ſuddenly, began to fall as faſt, firſt from his Chan-

Chancellorſhip, which was beſtowed on Sir Thomas More, and then falling into a Præmunire, his Family was diſſolved; Cromwel being thereby out of Office, endeavoured to be retained in the Kings Service; and Sir Chriſtopher Hales Maſter of the Rolls, though an earneſt Papiſt, yet had ſo great a kindneſs for him, that he recommended him to the King, as a Man moſt fit to be imployed by him; but Cromwel had been ſo miſrepreſented by the Popiſh Clergy, for his forwardneſs in defacing their Monaſteries and Altars, that the King abhorr'd the very name of him, but the Lord Ruſſel Earl of Bedford being preſent (whoſe Life Cromwel had ſaved at Bononia in Italy, where he was ſecretly imploy'd in the King's Affairs, and was in great danger to be taken, had he not been ſecured by Cromwel's Policy) who not forgetting his Benefactor, gave him an account of the whole matter, and ſince His Majeſty had now to do with the Pope his great Enemy; he was of Opinion, there was not a fitter Inſtrument for the King's purpoſe than he, and told him wherein: The King hereupon was willing to ſpeak with him, of which Cromwel having Private notice, he got in readineſs the Oath, which the Engliſh Biſhops took to the Pope at their Conſecration; and being called in, after paying his Duty to the King, anſwered to all Points demanded of him, whereby he made it plainly appear, that his Royal Authority was diminiſht within his own Kingdom by the Pope and his Clergy, who having ſworn Allegiance to the King, were afterward diſpenſed with for the ſame, and ſworn anew to the Pope, ſo that he was but half King, and they but half Subjects in his own Realm, which was derogatory to his Crown, and abſolutely contrary to the Common Law of England, and that his Majeſty might therefore juſtly make himſelf rich with their forfeited Eſtates, if he pleaſed to take the preſent occaſion.

The King was very Attentive to his Diſcourſe, eſpecially the laſt part of it, and demanded whether he would juſtifie what he ſaid, He affirmed he would, produ-

producing the Oath they had taken to the Pope, which the King having read, he took his Ring off his Finger, and firſt admitting him into his Service by the Advice of his Council, ſent him therewith to the Convocation then ſitting; Cromwel coming boldly with the King's Signet into the Convocation Houſe, and placing himſelf among the Biſhops (Warham being Archbiſhop of Canterbury) declared to them, the Authority of the King, and the Obedience due from Subjects, eſpecially from Biſhops and Clergymen to the Laws of the Land, which are neceſſarily provided for the Benefit and quiet of the Commonwealth, which Laws notwithſtanding, they had all highly tranſgreſſed to the great Derogation of the King's Royal Dignity, and thereby brought themſelves into a Præmunire, not only in conſenting to the Power Legantine of the late Cardinal Woolſey, but alſo by Swearing to the Pope, contrary to their Allegiance to their Soveraign Lord the King, whereby they had forfeited all their Spiritual and Temporal Eſtates, real or perſonal.

The Biſhops were amazed at firſt to hear this bold Charge, and began to deny it, but Cromwell ſhewing them the very Copy of their Oath taken to the Pope at their Conſecration, made the matter ſo plain, that they began to ſhrink, and deſired time to adviſe about it; but however before they could get clear of this Præmunire, the two Provinces of Canterbury and York were obliged by Act of Parliament, to pay the King one hundred eighteen thouſand, eight hundred and forty Pounds.

Cromwel after this came into great Favour with the King, who made him a Knight, Maſter of his Jewel Houſe, and a Privy Councellour, and ſoon after Knight of the Garter, Earl of Eſſex, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Great Chamberlain of England; and laſtly, he was conſtituted Vicegerent in all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, by Virtue whereof, both in Parliament and elſewhere, he had the precedence of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: This Authority he uſed upon all occaſions, for the extir-

extirpating Romish Superstition and Idolatry, to which he always was an utter Enemy, and for which there was a fair occasion offered: For the King being inraged against the Pope, for refusing to annul his Marriage with Queen Katherine, though he had the Judgement of nineteen Universities on his side, he resolved to have the matter determined by the Clergy of his own Kingdom; and having summoned a Convocation, they after mature debate, declared the Marriage null and void from the beginning, and confirmed the Kings second Marriage with Queen Ann of Bullen, which he had consummated some time before: And a Parliament being called, several Acts were passed against the Popes Supremacy, whereby all Clergymen that should make any appeal to Rome, were declared guilty of a Præmunire, and that the King should have power to visit, examine and reform all the Monasteries and Nunneries of the Kingdom, and should give Licenses for electing Bishops to all Vacancies, without the Popes consent or approbation, and declaring the King Supream Head on earth of the Church of England; after which, a stop was put to the Persecutions which the Protestant Ministers had suffered, many of whom were cruelly burnt by the Popish Clergy, for want of stronger Arguments to convince them: The Nobility and Gentry were generally well satisfied with this change, but the Body of the People, who were more under the Power of the Priests, were by them possest with great fears of a change of Religion, being told that the King had now joined himself with Hereticks, and that Queen Ann, Cranmer now Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Cromwel favoured them: For the Monks and Friers saw themselves left at the King's Mercy, the Trade of new Saints was now at an end, they had also some Intimations, that Cromwel was forming a Project for suppressing Monasteries, so that in Confessions and Discourses, they infused into the People a dislike of the Kings Proceedings, which prevail'd so far upon them, as they afterward broke out into formidable Insurrections

ſurrections and Rebellions in divers Parts of the Kingdom.

Cromwel by his Vicegerency, had precedence of all next the Royal Family, and as the King came in the Popes Room, ſo the Vicegerents Authority was in all Points the ſame, that the Legates had in the time of Popery; the firſt Act of Cromwel's after his being Vicar General, was (with a Delegation of the Kings Supremacy to him) to viſit all the Monaſteries and Churches in England, of which the Biſhops and Abbots were ſo jealous, that of their own accord before any Law was made about it, they ſwore to maintain the Kings Supremacy; however the Viſitation went on throughout England, and in many places monſtrous diſorders were found, as the Sin of Sodomy in ſome, barbarous Murthers and Cruelties in others, Tools for falſe Coining in others, and great Factions and Diviſions in many: The Report that was made, contained many other abominable Crimes not fit to be named; hereupon Cromwel procured the Parliament to paſs an Act, that thirty Perſons Spiritual and Temporal, ſuch as his Majeſty ſhould impower under his Great Seal, ſhould have Authority to make and eſtabliſh Laws and Ordinances Eccleſiaſtical, which ſhould be obligatory upon all the Subjects of this Realm; and likewiſe that all Religious Houſes, either Monaſteries, Priories or Nunneries, whoſe revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds a Year ſhould be ſuppreſt and diſſolved, and all their Poſſeſſions and Lands ſetled on the Crown for ever: And the Reaſons alledged for doing this were, becauſe theſe Houſes were erected upon groſs abuſes and ſubſiſted by them, the Foundation of all their Wealth being founded upon the belief of Purgatory, and of the Virtue that was in Maſſes to redeem Souls out of it, and that theſe eaſed the Torments of departed Souls, and at laſt delivered them out of them, ſo it paſt among all for a piece of Piety to Parents, and of care for their own Souls and Families to endow thoſe Houſes with ſome Lands, upon Condition they ſhould

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have Maſſes ſaid for them, the number of which were uſually according to the value of the Gift; this was like to have drawn the whole Wealth of the Nation into thoſe Houſes, had not ſome reſtraint been put to that Superſtition; they alſo perſwaded the People, that the Saints interceded for them, and would kindly accept offerings made at their Shrines, and the greater they were, the more earneſtly would they uſe their Intereſt for them: The credulous Vulgar meaſuring the Court of Heaven by thoſe on Earth, believed that Preſents might be very prevalent there; ſo that every new Saint muſt have new Gifts preſented him: Likewiſe ſome Images were believed to have an extraordinary Virtue in them, and Pilgrimages to them were much extolled, and there was great Contention among the Monaſteries, every one magnifying their one Saints, Images, and Reliques above others; the Wealth that theſe Follies brought in occaſioned great Corruptions, ſo that the Monks and Friers were very debaucht, and very Ignorant: And the begging Friers under the appearance of Poverty, courſe Diet, and Cloathing gained much eſteem, and became almoſt the only Preachers and Confeſſors in the World, but not being able to conceal their Vices, they were now fallen under much Scandal, and a general Diſeſteem, and the King deſigning to create new Biſhopricks, thought it neceſſary in Order thereto to make uſe of ſome of their Revenues, and that the beſt way to bring them into his hands, would be to expoſe their vices, that ſo they might quite loſe the eſteem they yet had with ſome, and it would be the leſs dangerous to ſuppreſs them.

Cromwel was imploy'd in this Reforming Work, and for removing all Images and Superſtitious Pictures out of the Churches; many of the Abbots ſurrendred their Monaſteries, and in moſt Houſes, the Viſitors made the Monks ſign a Confeſſion of their former Vices and Diſorders, in which they acknowledged their Idleneſs, Gluttony and Senſuality, for which the Pit of Hell was ready to ſwallow them up; others acknowledged that they

they were ſenſible that the manner of their former pretended Religion, conſiſting only in ſome Dumb Ceremonies; whereby they were blindly led without any Knowledge of God's Laws, and being exempted from the Authority of their own Biſhops and wholly ſubjecting themſelves to a Forreign Power, who took no care to reform their abuſes, it had occaſioned great diſorders among them; but the moſt perfect way of Life revealed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, being now diſcovered to them, they thought it very fit, that they ſhould be governed by the King their Supream Head, and therefore reſigned their Abbies to him; So that in the whole, one hundred fifty nine Reſignations were made to the King before the Meeting of the next Parliament, who made an Act for the Total Diſſolution of all the Abbies in England, the Rents of which were then valued at, being one hundred thirty two thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeven pound ſix ſhillings four pence, but they were worth above ten times as much in true value.

Theſe Proceedings againſt the Pope and Holy Church cauſed the Rude, Ignorant, and wilful People in Lincolnſhire to aſſemble in Arms to the number of twenty thouſand: The King levied a ſtrong Army, and went in Perſon to ſuppreſs them, and approaching them, they ſent him an humble Petition; that if he would reeſtabliſh the Monaſteries, and the Popes Authority, they would freely lay down their Arms and return to their Duty; but the King diſdaining theſe Ruſticks ſhould dictate Politicks to him, rejected their Petition, ſending them Word, that if they did not inſtantly deliver up a hundred of the principal Rebels into his hands, he would immediately fall upon them with the utmoſt Fury, and Sacrifice them all to his reſentment; This daring Reſolution, ſo daunted the Hearts of this undiſciplined Multitude, that their Leaders expecting each would deliver the other up to the King, they ſecretly deſerted them and returned home, but Captain Cobler their Chief Commander, otherwiſe

wiſe Dr. Makarel and ſome other being taken were executed according to their merits, and the Common People being left without Officers made haſte home, and were pardoned by the King. This was ſucceeded by another Inſurrection in the North, where 40000 got together upon the ſame pretences, calling themſelves 'The Holy Pilgrims, who intended nothing but 'the eſtabliſhing of the true Religion, and reſtoring 'the Rights of Holy Church. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were ordered to ſuppreſs theſe brainſick Zealots, who ſeemed very joyful they were to fight, not doubting of ſucceſs in this Religious War, but the Night before the intended day of Battel a little Brook which ran between the Armies, and might have been paſſed over dry foot, grew ſo broad by the next Morning by a violent Rain which fell, that they could not approach each other, which being reckoned by both Parties a great Miracle, the Rebels upon promiſe of free pardon quietly departed home. In theſe commotions thoſe men whoſe profeſſion was only their Books and their Beeds, miſtaking the Command of Chriſt, *To ſell their Coats and buy a Sword*, came armed into the Field, and being taken, ſeveral Abbots, Monks and Prieſts were executed.

The Kingdom being again ſetled in peace Cromwell proceeded in the Work of Reformation, and becauſe the People ſeemed diſcontented that the abuſe of theſe Monaſteries ſhould be turn'd to the utter ruin of them, from whence they uſed to have relief and alms, Therefore Cromwell thought fit to make them ſenſible of the Cheats and Tricks which the Prieſts had impoſed upon them. And many Impoſtures about Relicks and Wonderful Images or Roods were now diſcovered, to which Pilgrimages had been formerly made. As at Reading where they ſhewed the Wing of the Angel that brought over thither the point of the Spear which pierced our Saviour's ſide. And ſo many pieces of the Croſs were found in ſeveral Abbies as joined together would have made a large Croſs. The Rood of

Grace

Grace at Boxley in Kent which had drawn ſo many Pilgrims to it, was brought to St. Paul's Croſs, which by many ſprings uſed to bow down and lift up it ſelf, to rowl the Eyes, ſhake the Head, Hands, and Feet, move the Lips, ſeem pleaſed, or angry, by bending the Brows, which the credulous multitude imputed to a Divine Power, but was now made appear to be a Cheat, and the Springs openly ſhewed that governed its ſeveral motions. Likewiſe the Images of our Lady of Walſingham and Ipſwich, adorned with rich Jewels, and divers others both in England and Wales were removed out of the Churches, and being brought to London were openly burnt in the preſence of the Lord Cromwell at Chelſey. The blood of Chriſt was ſhewed in a Glaſs Vial at Hales in Gloceſterſhire, and the Prieſts ſaid it was not viſible to any that were in Mortal Sin. So that after the People had well paid, it became viſible to them, and the deluded Souls went away well ſatisfied that they were now free from any damnable tranſgreſſion. But this was proved to be the Blood of a Duck renewed every Week, and put into a Glaſs thick on one ſide and thin on the other, ſo that till the Pilgrim had offered what the Prieſt thought fit, the dark ſide was turned to him, and afterward the light ſide. Several ſuch Impoſtures were diſcovered, which tended much to undeceive the People. But the richeſt Shrine in England was that of St. Thomas of Becket that great Rebel to King Henry II. and for whoſe death he ſeverely whipt himſelf a great way to the Cathedral of Canterbury, where he was killed by four of King Henry's officious Servants, and he thereupon Canonized a Saint, to whoſe Altar greater Oblations were made than to that of our Saviour or the Virgin Mary. Every fiftieth year there was a Jubilee and an Indulgence, granted to all that came and viſited his Tomb, who were ſometimes thought to be an hundred thouſand on that occaſion, the prints of their kneeling and devotion remaining in the Stones to this day. So that it was immenſly Rich

with Gold, Jewels, Plate and Money, the Gold only being ſo heavy that it filled two Cheſts, which required eight men a piece to carry them out of the Church. The Timber work of this Shrine was covered with Plates of Gold, Damaſked and Imboſſed with VVires of Gold, garniſhed with Images, Angels, great Orient Pearls and Precious Stones, the chief whereof was a rich Jewel offered by Lewes ſeventh of France who came over in Pilgrimage to viſit this Tomb, and to obtain that for the future no Paſſenger ſhould be drowned betwixt Dover and Callice. It was valued to be the richeſt Jewel in Europe. St. Thomas's Skull which had been ſo much VVorſhipped was proved an Impoſture, for the true Skull was with the reſt of his Bones in the Coffin, and were now ſo mixt with other Bones that it had been a Miracle indeed to have diſtinguiſht them afterwards. Then the Axes and Hammers went to work in pulling down the Neſts of Superſtition and Idolatry, whoſe number as Camden reckons them were ſix hundred forty five Monaſteries, ninty Colleges, an hundred and ten Hoſpitals, and two thouſand three hundred ſeventy four Chauntries and free Chappels, and their Lands and Revenues being by Act of Parliament ſettled on the Crown, the King by the advice of the Lord Cromwell politickly exchanged them for others with his Nobility and Gentry, allowing them good Bargains for their Incouragement, many of whoſe Eſtates do now conſiſt wholly of Poſſeſſions of this nature, or elſe were greatly inlarged by them, and the reſtoration of them to their former uſes was thereby rendred ſo impracticable, that all the flaming zeal of Queen Mary for Popery was never able to effect any thing of that kind. And this may be thought to have been one ſtrong Barrier and Security of this Nation againſt Popiſh Slavery to this very day, notwithſtanding the many attempts that have ſince been made to reduce us back to that Houſe of bondage.

The Churches being thus cleanſed from rubbiſh, the

the magnanimous Lord Cromwell reſolved to place better Ornaments in them, and therefore he ſent out Injunctions requiring the Clergy to ſet up Engliſh Bibles in their Churches, and to incourage all to read them. Exhorting the People not to diſpute about the ſenſe of difficult places but to leave that to better Judgments. Miniſters were likewiſe commanded to inſtruct the People and to teach them the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh, and that once every Quarter, there ſhould be a Sermon to declare the true Goſpel of Chriſt, and to exhort the People to works of Charity, and not to truſt to other mens Works, to Pilgrimages, or Relicks, or telling their Beads, which was only Superſtition. Alſo the folly of offering Candles to Images, and that to make any uſe of Images in Divine Worſhip was Idolatry, and the praying to Saints unneceſſary. Theſe ſtruck at ſome of the main Points of the former Superſtition, but the free uſe of the Scriptures gave the deadlieſt blow of all. Yet all the Clergy ſubmitted to them without murmuring.

The Death of Queen Ann Bullen (who was beheaded ſome time before for ſeveral pretended Crimes, which ſhe utterly denied at the Scaffold, and of which a great number of worthy men thought her Innocent) gave freſh hopes to the Popiſh Clergy that a ſtop would have been put to any further Reformation, of which ſhe was reckoned a great promoter and incourager. And the Succeſſion of the Crown being likewiſe altered by Parliament: By whom Queen Mary was declared Illegitimate as born of Queen Katherine in unlawful Marriage, and a new Oath impoſed upon all the People to acknowledge the Children of the Queen Ann to be rightful Heirs to the Crown, and ſhe leaving one Daughter (who was afterward the renowned Queen Elizabeth) that Party had likewiſe expectations that ſhe being dead, the Lady Mary would ſucceed to the Crown, to which end ſhe was perſuaded to ſubmit her ſelf to the King, and own him as Su-

pream Head of the Church of England, which ſhe had hitherto refuſed. But within twenty days after this Tragedy was over, the King Married the Lady Jane Seymour Daughter of Sr. John Seymour, by whom he had the moſt excellent Prince Edward, who ſucceeded him, though within few days after the good Queen died. The birth of a Son blaſted the Papiſts expectations, and therefore Gardiner, Bonner and the reſt of that Clergy ſeemed now very zealous in promoting the Injunctions that Cromwell had lately publiſhed. Yet Gardiner ſtill retaining a ſecret hatred againſt the Reformation, he by his Artifices and Flatteries prevailed much with the King, perſuading him that his zeal againſt Hereſie was the greateſt advantage that his Cauſe, in renouncing the Pope could have over all Europe. Which meeting with the King's own perſuaſion of the Corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, cauſed him to ſit in Perſon upon the Trial of one John Lambert a learned man, who becauſe he would not recant his opinion about Tranſubſtantion was cruelly burnt in Smithfield, and in the next Parliament an Act was made for making it death not to conſent to the ſix Articles following (which were after called the ſix bloody Articles.) I. That after the words of Conſecration; the Real and Natural Body and Blood of Chriſt was in the Sacrament. II. That Communion in both kinds was not neceſſary to Salvation. III. That Prieſts by the Laws of God ought not to Marry. IV. That Vows of Chaſtity are to be obſerved. V. That private Maſſes were agreeable to the Word of God. VI. That Auricular Confeſſion was neceſſary to be retained. Againſt moſt of theſe Cranmer argued ſeveral days, and Cromwell promoted Bonner to the Biſhoprick of Hereford to be a faithful ſecond to Cranmer in his Pious deſigns, though he afterward proved a violent Perſecutor, and indeed Cranmer wanted ſupport againſt the other Biſhops, who made great complaints of the raſhneſs of the Proteſtant Preachers who were very furious againſt

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some things not yet abolished. Upon which, Letters were writ to the Bishops to take care that as the People should be rightly instructed, so they should not be offended with too many Novelties. Thus was Cranmer's interest so low that he had none but Cromwell to depend on. There was not a Queen now in the King's Bosom to support them; and the refusal of owning these Articles caused the death of many Protestants, as the denying the King's Supremacy cut off several Papist, so that at the same time Protestants were burnt on one side Smithfield, and Papists hanged on the other, which made Forreigners admire, as not understanding what Religion King Henry was of.

Hereupon Cromwell contrived how the King should be ingaged in a nearer Alliance with the Protestant Princes of Germany; with whom he had already setled a League, and who was acknowledged its Patron, he sending over an hundred thousand Crowns a year for the support of it; all ingaging, That they would join against the Pope as the Common Enemy, and set up the true Religion according to the Gospel. Now that the King might be prevailed upon both, by Affection and Interest, to carry on what he had thus begun, Cromwell resolved to bring about a Match between the King and the Lady Ann Sister to William Duke of Cleve, whose other Sister Frederick Duke of Saxony, a very zealous Protestant, had espoused. And the King unwilling to live any longer a Widower, both the Emperor and the King of France proposed Matches to him, but Reasons of State inclined him powerfully to that with the Lady Ann. Her Father had before Treated with the Prince of Lorrain about Marrying her, but it went no farther than a Contract between the two Fathers. And the famous Painter Hans Holbin much favoured her in the Picture which was sent to the King, who never liked the Original so well as he did that. The Duke of Saxe dissuaded the Match because the King was going backward in the Reformation as appear'd by his enact-

ing the ſix bloody Articles, but Cromwell carried it on with the greateſt vigor. Some write that the Lady was handſome enough, but could ſpeak only Dutch which the King underſtood not, neither had ſhe learned Muſick, and was alſo ſo ſtiff in her Carriage as no way ſuited the King's temper. However the Marriage was concluded, and arriving at Rocheſter the King was ſo impatient to ſee her that he went thither incognito, but was much dampt at firſt ſight, for he thought her demeanour ſo rude that he aſkt whether they had brought over a Flanders Mare to him, and thenceforward had an abſolute averſion for her Perſon: Neither had he any kindneſs for her Religion, and many Virtues, ſhe being a very Devout Proteſtant. So that he reſolved to break the Match if poſſible; but for fear of diſobliging the German Princes, his affairs making their friendſhip very neceſſary to him at this time, to obviate the deſigns of the Emperor, Pope and French King now projecting againſt him, he Married her but expreſt his diſlike of her ſo plainly, that all about him took notice of it, and the day after he told Cromwell that he had not conſummated his Marriage with her, and did believe he ſhould never do it, complaining of ill ſmells about her, and that he ſuſpected ſhe was not a Virgin, which ſo much increaſed his diſlikes, that he thought he ſhould be never able to endure her. Cromwell endeavoured in vain to overcome theſe prejudices, ſo that though the King lived with her five Months, and lay often in the Bed with her, yet was his averſion rather increaſed than abated.

About this time all the ground that the Reformation gained after ſo much had been lately loſt, was a liberty for all private perſons to have Bibles in their Houſes the managing of which was put into Cromwell's hands by a particular Patent. And a new Parliament being called, as the Lord Chancellor declared the matters of State to them, ſo the Vicegerent Cromwell ſpake to them concerning Religion, telling them, 'That the King 'deſired nothing ſo much as an entire Union among all

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'his Subjects, but that ſome Incendiaries oppoſed it 'as much as he promoted it, and that raſhneſs on one 'ſide, and inveterate Superſtition on the other, had 'raiſed great diſſentions, which were inflamed by the 'reproachful names of Papiſt and Heretick, and 'though they had now the Word of God in all their 'hands, yet they rather ſtudied to juſtifie their Paſſions, 'than amend and govern their Lives by it. To re-'move which, the King had appointed ſeveral Biſhops 'to ſettle the Doctrine and Ceremonies, and to pub-'liſh an expoſition of the Doctrine of Chriſt without 'corrupt mixtures, and yet to retain ſuch Ceremonies 'as ſhould be thought neceſſary, reſolving afterward 'to puniſh all Tranſgreſſors of either ſide. At this time Cromwell was created Earl of Eſſex, which ſhews that the King's diſlike of the Queen was not the chief cauſe of his ruin, otherwiſe he had not now advanced him.

The Popiſh Biſhops (eſpecially Gardiner) being glad to be any way rid of a Proteſtant Queen, heightned the King's averſion to the Lady Ann of Cleve by all means poſſible, and perſuaded the King to move for a Divorce. The Queen ſeem'd little concerned at it, and expreſt much willingneſs to diſcharge him from a Marriage ſo unacceptable to him. The Lords addreſt to him that he would ſuffer the Marriage to be examined, which being granted, a Commiſſion was ſent to the Convocation to diſcuſs it, and Witneſſes being heard, it appeared that her Pre-contract with the Prince of Lorrain was not fully cleared. And that the King had Married her againſt his Will. And not having given an inward and compleat conſent, he had never conſummated the Marriage, ſo that no Iſſue could be expected from the Queen. Whereupon the Convocation publiſht an authentick Inſtrument under the Seals of the two Archbiſhops, declaring to the Chriſtian World that the King's Marriage with the Lady Ann of Cleve was a nullity, void, fruſtrate and of none effect, becauſe the ſaid Lady under her own hand had

upon due examination confeſt that the King never had, nor could perform to her that Benevolence which by a Huſband was due to a Wife. This Sentence was confirmed by Parliament, adding that it was lawful according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, for the King to Marry another Wife, and for the Lady Ann of Cleve to take another Huſband according to the Laws of Holy Church. And all ſuch as by Writing, Printing or Speaking did maintain the contrary ſhould be puniſht as for High Treaſon.

During this Tranſaction a ſudden turn happened at Court. The Lord Cromwell was ſuddenly Arreſted for High Treaſon by the Duke of Norfolk in the Council Chamber at White-Hall, and committed Priſoner to the Tower. The lowneſs of his birth procured him many Enemies among the Nobility, to ſee a Blackſmiths Son prefer'd to ſuch high Dignity, He being at the ſame time Lord Vicegerent, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord High Chamberlain of England, Earl of Eſſex, and Maſter of the Rolls. The Popiſh Clergy hated him mortally, the ſuppreſſion of the Abbies, and the Injunctions about Reformation in the Church, being imputed to his Counſels: And the King being freed from the fear of the Confederacy betwixt the Emperor and French King againſt him, who could not agree upon the Terms; Cromwells Counſel's now became uſeleſs to him, and he hoped the making him a Sacrifice might ſomewhat appeaſe the People, who were much diſturbed at ſome late proceedings. And further, he now intended a Match with Katherine Howard Neice to the Duke of Norfolk a Papiſt and an Enemy to the Reformation. The King was likewiſe told that Cromwell was an Enemy to the Six Articles, and incouraged thoſe that oppoſed them.

Of the truth of the laſt we read this following Paſſage. About two years before, the King ordered Archbiſhop Cranmer to put in Writing all the Arguments he had uſed in Parliament againſt the ſix Articles: He likewiſe ſent Cromwell and the Duke of Norfolk

Norfolk to Dine with him, and aſſure him of the continuance of his favour and kindneſs to him. At Table they acknowledged that Cranmer had oppoſed the Articles with much Prudence and Learning, expreſſing a great value for him, and telling him that thoſe who differed from his opinion could not but eſteem him highly for his worth, and ſince the King ſeemed to approve of them, he need fear nothing. Cromwell added, That the King had ſo much reſpect for him above his other Counſellors, that he would not give ear to any complaints againſt him, and that as Cardinal Woolſey loſt his friends by Pride, the other gained upon his Enemies by his Humility and Moderation. The Duke of Norfolk replied, he could ſpeak beſt of the Cardinal, having been his man ſo long. Cromwell replied warmly, That he never liked his Manners, but ſaid he, If he had been Pope, I never intended to have gone into Italy with him, as you my Lord Duke deſigned to have done. The Duke ſwore he lied and gave him ill Language which put all the company into diſorder, and they were never friends afterward. Cranmer drew up his Reaſons againſt the ſix Articles, and gave them to his Secretary to tranſcribe fairly for the King's uſe, but croſſing the Thames, met with a very odd accident. For a Bear being baited near the River broke looſe, and running into the Water overturned the Boat wherein the Secretary was, whereby his Book fell into the Thames, and was taken up by the Bearward, who ſhewed it to a Prieſt; he preſently perceived it was a Refutation of the ſix Articles, and told the Bearward that the Author would certainly be hanged. The Secretary coming to demand his Book, which he ſaid was the Archbiſhops, and offering him a Crown to Drink for ſaving it: The Fellow being an obſtinate Papiſt, replied, he would not part with it for five hundred Crowns. The Secretary acquainting Cromwell with the matter, he ſent for the Bearward, who gueſſing at the buſineſs brought the Book with intent to have delivered it to

Stephen Gardiner or Sir Anthony Brown, both inveterate Enemies to Proteſtancy. Cromwell ſeeing him, ſnatcht the Book from him, and giving it to the Secretary, Here, ſays he, I know this is your hand, take it with you, and Sirrah, ſays he to the Fellow, you deſerve to be puniſht for detaining a Privy Counſellor's Book when demanded, you being fitter to meddle with Bears than matters of State. And ſo Cranmer was preſerved from the danger of Fire, which at this time threatned him by Water.

The blow at Cromwel was ſuddenly given, and being in diſgrace, he had the common Lot of diſcarded Favourites, to be forſaken by his Friends, and inſulted over by his Enemies, of whom Gardiner was the moſt implacable; only Cranmer ſtuck to him, and in a Letter to the King on his behalf, he aſſured him, He had always found that the Lord Cromwel ever loved his Majeſty above all things; and that he had ſerved him with ſuch Fidelity and Succeſs, that he was of the Opinion, no King of England had ever a more faithful Miniſter, wiſhing the King might find a Councellor, who was as willing and able to do him Service as he was: But the King being freed from his Marriage, and having made Katherine Howard his Queen in a few Weeks after, the Duke of Norfolk had now an opportunity to be revenged on him, ſhe being Daughter to the Lord Edmund Howard, Brother to the Duke: So that from henceforth, the King looked diſcontentedly upon his former intimate Favourite and inward Counſellor, as being told that he was the cauſe of all his late Troubles.

Thoſe who had long deſired his Downfal, ſoon perceiving this Alteration, drew up a long Bill of Attainder againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, which was read twice in one day; and ſent to the Commons, who after ten days debate paſſed it, whereby he was condemned for High Treaſon and Hereſie, by that unjuſt way of Attainder without coming to an Anſwer; wherein it was ſet forth, That though the King had raiſed him from a low Eſtate to high Dignities, yet it appeared by many

many Witneſſes, that were Perſons of Honour, that he was the moſt corrupt Traytor that ever was known; That joining with the laſt Queen Ann, he had favoured the Lutherans above meaſure, and ſo ſtrongly ſupported them againſt the Catholick Prelates and Prieſts of this Kingdom, that when he was told by ſome of the Clergy, that they doubted not but the King would ſhortly curb their Boldneſs and Preſumption, the ſaid Lord Cromwel did reply, That he was ſure of the King; and that about two Years before, he had ſaid, the Preaching of Barnes and other Hereticks was good, and that he would not turn, though the King did turn, but if the King turned, he would fight in Perſon againſt him, and all that turned; and drawing out his Dagger, he wiſht he might be pierced to the Heart with it, if he did not do it: And that if he lived a Year or two longer it ſhould not be in the King's Power to hinder it. That he had ſet many at liberty who were condemned or ſuſpected of Miſpriſion of Treaſon. That he had given Licenſes for Tranſporting out of the Kingdom things prohibited by Proclamation, had granted Paſports without ſearching, and had diſperſed many erroneous Books contrary to the belief of the Sacrament. And had ſaid, that every man might adminiſter it as well as the Prieſt. That he had Licenſed ſeveral Preachers ſuſpected of Hereſie, and had diſcharged many that were committed on that account. That he had many Hereticks about him and had diſcouraged Informers. He was likewiſe charged with Bribery and Oppreſſion, and that when he heard ſome Lords were conſulting about him, he threatned that he would raiſe great diſturbances in England.

Many of theſe things were charged upon him in general, but no particulars produced: And the words about the King being ſworn to have been ſpoken two years before, it was ſtrange that they ſhould be ſo long concealed, conſidering the powerful Adverſaries which he had. As to the Licenſes, it was thought he had the King's Order for what he did in it. Bribery

and Oppreſſion ſeem to be added only to render him odious, who always appeared of a quite contrary temper. And therefore Authors think that the chief cauſe of the King's Indignation was, that having diſcovered his affection for the Lady Katherine Howard to him, Cromwell uſed ſome words in defence of Queen Ann of Cleve, and in diſlike of the Lady Katherine, which ſo much diſpleaſed the King, that he thereupon delivered him up into the hands of his Enemies who thirſted for his Blood, and fearing that he would clear himſelf from all their Calumnies by a Legal Trial, they Tried, Judged and Condemned him by a way which ſeems both againſt Nature and Reaſon, and Juſtice, not being ſuffered to appear, or ſpeak a word in his own defence.

When he was Priſoner in the Tower, ſeveral Commiſſioners were ſent thither to examine him, who found him in a very compoſed ſedate frame, bearing his affliction with a Patient and Chriſtian Conſtancy of Mind, not at all ruffled with the ſuddenneſs of his Fall, for he foreſaw the Tempeſt before it came, and prepared for the ſame. And being ſenſible of the vigilance power and malice of his adverſaries, he called his Servants before him, and told them that he found himſelf upon a very uncertain foundation, and that a ſtorm was approaching, and therefore charged them that they ſhould manage all their affairs with Uprightneſs and Juſtice, that ſo he might not be blamed, or ſuffer by any miſdemeanors of theirs. He entertained the Commiſſioners with much gravity and freedom, and anſwered all their Interrogatories with great moderation and diſcretion, being as well informed in all matters Eccleſiaſtical or Civil as themſelves. He once deſired one of theſe Commiſſioners (ſuppoſed to be Stephen Gardiner his moſt implacable Enemy) to carry a Letter from him to the King, who replied, That he would carry no Letter to the King from a Traytor. Then ſaid the Lord Cromwell, Pray deliver a Meſſage to him by word of Mouth. This he conſented to, pro-

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vided it were not againſt his Allegiance; 'Well my 'Lords, ſaid he to the reſt, pray be witneſſes of what 'this Lord hath promiſed: Pray then preſent my duty 'to the King, and tell him, That when he hath tried 'and proved you ſo throughly as I have done, he will 'find you the falſeſt man that ever he had about him. Before this he writ a Letter to the King which none durſt undertake to deliver him, but Mr. Sadler his old friend, willing to do him a kindneſs, firſt went to underſtand the King's pleaſure whether he would permit him to do it, which the King granting, he preſented the Letter to him, who commanded him to read it to him thrice over, ſeeming much affected with it. And ſome write that after his death the King being in a great exigency and not knowing whom to truſt or with whom to adviſe, he much lamented his Death, ſaying, *O that I had my Cromwell again*; But the Act of Parliament being paſſed, he could not conveniently diſpenſe with it, and his Enemies being ſo many and mighty, was obliged to take him off; So that July 28. 1541. the worthy and noble Lord Cromwell was brought to the Scaffold on Tower Hill, where he ſpake thus to the multitude that ſurrounded him.

'I am come hither to dye and not to clear my ſelf, 'as ſome peradventure may think that I will. I am 'condemned by the Law to dye, and thank my Lord 'God that hath appointed me this death for mine offences: For ſince the time that I came to years of 'diſcretion I have lived a Sinner, and have offended my 'Lord God, for which I aſk him heartily forgiveneſs. 'It is not unknown to many of you that I have been a 'great Traveller in this World, and being of mean degree was called to an high eſtate, and ſince I came 'thereto I have offended my Prince, for which I aſk him heartily forgiveneſs, and beſeech you all to pray 'to God with me that he will forgive me. And now I 'pray you all to bear me record that I die in the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my 'Faith,

'Faith, no nor doubting in any Sacrament of the 'Church. Many have ſlandered me and reported 'that I have been an Hearer of ſuch as have maintained 'evil opinions, which is untrue. But I confeſs that as 'God by his Holy Spirit doth inſtruct us in the Truth, 'ſo the Devil is ready to ſeduce us, and I have been 'ſeduced, but bear me witneſs that I die in the Ca-'tholick Faith of the Holy Church, and I heartily de-'ſire you to pray for the King's Grace, that he may 'long live with you in health and proſperity, and that 'after him his Son Prince Edward that goodly Branch, 'may long reign over you, And once again I deſire 'you to pray for me that ſo long as life remaineth in 'this fleſh, I may never waver in my Faith.

Then kneeling down on the Scaffold he prayed thus:

'O Lord Jeſus, who art the only health of all men 'living, and the everlaſting life of them 'which dye in thee; I wretched ſinner ſubmit my 'ſelf wholly unto thy moſt Bleſſed Will: And being 'ſure that the thing cannot periſh which is committed 'to thy mercy, I now willingly leave this frail and 'wicked Fleſh, in ſure hope that thou wilt in better 'wiſe reſtore it to me again at the laſt Day in the Re-'ſurrection of the Juſt. I beſeech thee moſt merciful 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that thou wilt by thy Grace 'ſtrengthen my Soul againſt all Temptations, and de-'fend me with the Buckler of thy Mercy againſt all 'the aſſaults of the Devil. I ſee and acknowledge that 'there is in my ſelf no hope of Salvation, but all my 'confidence, hope and truſt is in thy moſt merciful 'goodneſs. I have no merits nor good works, that I may 'alledge before thee. Of ſins and evil works alas I 'ſee a great heap. But yet through thy mercy I truſt 'to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not 'impute their Sins, but will take and accept me for 'Righteous and Juſt, and to be an Inheritor of Ever-'laſting Life: Thou merciful Lord, wert born for my

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'ſake; Thou didſt ſuffer both hunger and thirſt for 'my ſake; Thon didſt teach, pray and faſt for my 'ſake; All thy holy acts and works thou wroughteſt 'for my ſake; Finally, Thou gaveſt thy moſt precious 'Body and Blood to ſuffer on the Croſs for my ſake: 'Now moſt merciful Saviour, let all theſe things pro-'fit me who haſt given thy ſelf for me. Let thy Blood 'cleanſe and waſh away the ſpots and foulneſs of my 'Sins. Let thy Righteouſneſs hide and cover my Un-'righteouſneſs. Let the merits of thy Paſſion and 'Blood make ſatisfaction for my Sins. Give me O 'Lord, thy Grace that the Faith of my Salvation in thy 'Blood waver not in me, but may be ever firm and 'conſtant, That the hope of thy mercy and everlaſting 'life in me may never decay, nor thy love wax cold 'in me; Finally, That the weakneſs of my fleſh be 'not overcome with the fear of Death. Grant O 'merciful Saviour, that when Death hath ſhut up the 'Eyes of my Body, yet the Eyes of my Soul may ſtill 'behold and look upon thee, and when Death hath 'taken away the uſe of my Tongue, yet my Heart 'may cry and ſay unto thee, Lord into thy hands I 'commend my Soul, Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit. 'Amen.

After this he quietly laid down his Head on the Block, which was cut off at three or four ſtrokes by the hand of an unskilful and butcherly Executioner. Thus fell this Magnanimous Worthy, who roſe meerly by the ſtrength of his natural Parts, for his education was ſuitable to his mean extraction. He carried his greatneſs with extraordinary moderation, and his zeal for the Reformation created him many potent adverſaries, who continually ſought for matter againſt him, till in the end by lies, falſhood, and flattery they had thrown him out of the King's favour. He mixed none of the Superſtitions of the Church of Rome in his Devotions at his Death, and uſed the word Catho-lick Faith to expreſs the antient Apoſtolick Doctrine,

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of Chriſt, in oppoſition to Popiſh Novelties. With him fell the Office of Vicegerent, and none ſince ever had that Character. The miſeries that befell the new Queen Katherine, and the Duke of Norfolk and his Family were thought to be the Judgments of Heaven upon them for their cruel proſecuting this Unfortunate Favourite. The Queen being in a few months beheaded for her former lewd Life, together with the Lady Rochford her Bawd (as the Act of Parliament called her) who had been very inſtrumental in the ruin of Queen Ann Bullen, and of her own Huſband the Lord Rochford, who being now diſcovered to be ſo vile a Woman, it tended much to raiſe both their reputations again. The Duke of Norfolk and his Son the Earl of Surrey were both condemned for High Treaſon a few years after, and the Son was beheaded, the Father happily eſcaping by the death of King Henry.

To conclude, The Lord Cromwell had ſeveral eminent Virtues ſo conſpicuous in him, that they ought not to be concealed. His gratitude eminently appeared toward one Freſcobald an Italian Merchant, who had relieved him in his neceſſities in that Country, which he rewarded afterward with ſo exceſſive a generoſity as ſeveral eminent Pens have ſtrove who ſhould the moſt celebrate the ſame, and of which I have given a particular relation in a Book called *Unparallel'd Vanities, or the Tranſcendent effects of Gratitude*, &c. of the like value with this. His Charity was very apparent, in that foreſeeing himſelf declining in the King's favour, he like a kind and loving Maſter provided beforehand for almoſt all his Servants, and gave twelve Children of his Muſick twenty pound apiece: And likewiſe in delivering many out of danger for having broken Popiſh Laws and Conſtitutions. His Humility was very eminent in ſeveral inſtances, particularly that He and Archbiſhop Cranmer riding once in ſtate through Cheapſide, Cromwell ſeeing a poor Woman to whom he had formerly owed Money, called her to him,

him, and bid her go to his House, where he not only discharged the Debt, but setled a Pension of four pound a year upon her during Life. At another time observing a poor man at the Court of Sherin imployed in Sweeping the Cloysters and Ringing the Chappel Bell, He in the Company of several Lords called him by his name, and said, This poor mans Father was a great friend to me, having given me many a meals meat in my necessity, and therefore I am resolved to provide for him as long as I live, which he did accordingly. His Wisdom and Policy in state affairs was very obvious in the management of all Treaties, Negotiations, and Transactions, both at home and abroad with the utmost prudence, dexterity and success. Lastly and Principally, his fervent zeal for the true Religion was sufficiently discovered by the Injunctions, Proclamations and Articles, published by his advice, for promoting and advancing the same. In a word, many Ages before and since, have not been blest with two such excellent Persons as the Lord Cromwell, and Archbishop Cranmer, who both flourisht together at this time.

Remarks upon the Life, Actions and Fatal Fall of Robert Devereux *Earl of* Essex, *Favourite to Queen* Elizabeth.

BY the fall of this Great Man we may observe that the Love of a People may be of no less dangerous consequence to a Subject to trust to, than their hatred proves fatal to such Princes as are so unwary to procure it. Nor is the affection of a Prince to a Favourite to be much relied on, since their love is oftentimes inconstant, and their anger deadly. Of both

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which we can ſcarce find a more pregnant inſtance than in the Life and Death of this Eminent Favourite.

Robert Devereux was born in 1566. and was not above ten years of Age when his Father Walter Earl of Eſſex, and Earl Marſhal of Ireland deceaſed at Dublin, Premoniſhing his Son never to forget the thirty ſixth year of his Age, as the utmoſt term of Life, which neither himſelf nor his Father before him ſurvived, and which his Son never attained to. After his Father's death he was under the Tuition of the Pious and Learned Dr. Whitgift, and at ſixteen years performed his publick Acts as Maſter of Arts. His firſt advancement at Court was procured by the Earl of Leiceſter his Father in Law, and was thought to be deſigned not ſo much out of love to him, as envy againſt Sr. Walter Rawleigh. His Deſcent was very honourable, his Title being derived from Evereux a City in Normandy. His Title of Lord came by Marriage with Cicily the Daughter of William Bourchier whoſe Grandmother was Siſter to Edward IV. King of England, whoſe great Grandmother was Daughter to Thomas of Woodſtock Son of King Edward III. born of one of the Daughters of Humfry Bohun Earl of Hartford and Eſſex, whereupon the Title of Viſcount Hartford was beſtowed upon his great Grandfather Walter, by King Edward VI. and that of Earl of Eſſex upon his Father by Q. Elizabeth. So that this high Birth might fill him with ſome ambitious thoughts. He was with much ado at firſt made Maſter of the Horſe, the Queen being diſpleaſed with his Mother, but afterward when by his obſervance and duty he had procured her full favour, ſhe forgave a great debt that his Father owed her, made him a Knight of the Garter and a Privy Counſellor when he was ſcarce twenty three years old. His firſt appearance in action was at Tilbury Camp in 1588. being made by the Queen, General of the Horſe, to whom in the ſight of the Souldiery and People ſhe diſcovered a more than ordinary kindneſs.

And

And now Queen Elizabeth to follow the blow that ſhe had given the Spaniſh Armada, the next year ſends Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris with a Fleet, and ſome Forces to the aid of Don Antonio, who pretended a Right to the Crown of Portugal; but Philip II. of Spain being both ambitious and powerful, ſent the Duke of Alva with an Army thither, who drove this new King out of his Country, and after many ſkirmiſhes wholly poſſeſſed himſelf of that Kingdom for his Maſter. The Engliſh Forces landed near the Groin in Gallicia and took the lower Town. During this Voyage the Earl of Eſſex unwilling to be idle, when honour was to be gotten, went privately to Sea without the Queen's knowledge or conſent, and joined the Fleet: At which ſhe was much diſturbed, ſaying, This young Fellow is ſo ventrous that he will certainly be knockt on the Head one time or other. The Engliſh likewiſe took Peniche another Town in Portugal, and approached Liſbon, took the Caſtle of Caſcays, burnt the Town of Vigo, and finding that the Portugueſe did not declare for Don Antonio as he expected, ſickneſs likewiſe increaſing among the Souldiers, the Fleet returned home.

After this the Popiſh Princes of France entring into a League that they would have no Proteſtant reign over them, raiſed an Army againſt the King of Navar their rightful Soveraign, who thereupon craved aid of the Q. who readily aſſiſted him with money, and then with men under the Earl of Eſſex, who gave ſufficient proof of his Valour upon all occaſions, his Brother Walter being ſlain before the Walls of Roan. Upon which the Earl challenged Villars the Governor of the City to a ſingle Combat, which he durſt not accept of. The Earl a while after returned to England, being informed by his friends that many envious Courtiers were contriving to throw him out of the Queen's favour.

In 1595. Arch-Duke Albert Governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands for the King of Spain, ſuddenly Beſieged.

ſieged Callice and took it, the news whereof ſo ſurprized the Queen becauſe of the near Neighbourhood of this Potent Enemy, that to divert the Tempeſt from England, She and the States of Holland inſtantly ſet out a Navy of 140 Ships, whereon were imbarqued about ſeven thouſand Souldiers and as many Seamen, commanded in chief by the Earl of Eſſex and Charles Howard joint Admirals, with ſeveral other Inferior Commanders of great Courage and Conduct, who Sailing to Cadiz, in a ſhort time took both the Town and Caſtle, no man of Note being loſt in this Expedition but Captain Wingfield; and after having Ranſackt the Town and Iſland whereon it is built, demoliſht the Forts, burnt moſt of the Houſes, filled their Ships with Plunder, and burnt ſeveral Spaniſh Veſſels, the Fleet returned victoriouſly home. The King of Spain having loſt in this Gallant Expedition, thirteen of his beſt men of War, forty Merchants Ships from New Spain, an hundred Cannon, with ſuch vaſt Stores of Ammunition and Naval Proviſions, that he was not able to fit out another Fleet for many years after; and the Spaniards themſelves gave this Character of the brave Engliſh, That they were Hereticks in Religion, but in all other affairs Warlike, Politick, and truly Noble. This happy Succeſs advanced Eſſex in the opinion both of the Queen, Souldiery and Common People, though his making ſo many Knights ſome of them of very mean fortunes produced this Libel.

A Gentleman of Wales, with a Knight of Cales,
And a Laird of the North Countree:
A Yeoman of Kent upon a Rack Rent,
Will buy them out all three.

The Queens indulgence increaſing by this fortunate Expedition, he grew wanton with her favours, and was offended if ſhe prefer'd any but thoſe recommended by himſelf, as particularly Sir Francis Vere being made

made Governour of Brill in Holland, and Sir Robert Cecil Secretary of State, both which he had deſigned for other Perſons, he diſcovered ſo ſevere a reſentment for it, that his Enemies and Enviers turn'd it at length to his diſadvantage. After this, Eſſex is made Admiral of a Fleet, that were ſent againſt the Iſlands of Azores belonging to the Spaniard, where the Iſland of Gracioſa and Faial yielded to him, and likewiſe Villa Franca. And then returning, Eſſex who would be ſole Favourite, had great contentions with Sir Walter Rawleigh and Cecil, &c. and likewiſe with Charles Howard who was now made Earl of Nottingham, becauſe the Queen had given him part of the honour of the Victory at Cales. However the Queen's affections ſo blinded her that ſhe paſſed by many Indignities, offered her by him, and to pacifie him created him Earl Marſhal of England.

In 1598. Some Propoſals being offered for concluding a Peace with Spain the Earl of Eſſex oppoſed it, urging the Spaniſh Ambition for gaining the Univerſal Monarchy, his inveterate hatred againſt the Queen and the Kingdom, his Maxim, That no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks, and that the Pope could diſpenſe with him to break all Leagues when for his advantage, theſe and many ſuch cogent Reaſons made a Peace with him impracticable. But other great Courtiers whether for Reaſons of State, or that they had received ſome Spaniſh Gold, were very much diſpleaſed, ſo that the Lord Burleigh told him, That he breached nothing but War and Slaughter, and turning to the Pſalm he bid Eſſex read that verſe, as ſeeming to preſage his future Fate, *Blood-thirſty men ſhall not live out half their days.* Yet many much admired his Conduct as really deſigning nothing but the honour and ſecurity of his Country. However, the Queen and Eſſex were of a contrary opinion both as to the Peace, and to a fit Perſon to be ſent Lord Deputy into Ireland. The Queen judged William Knolles the Earl's Uncle proper for the imployment: Eſſex affirmed George Carew to be much

much fitter, and becauſe he could not perſuade the Q. to be of his mind he contemptibly turn'd his back and ſeem'd to ſcoff at her. At which ſhe growing out of patience ſtept forward, and giving him a ſound box on the Ear, bid him be gone with a vengeance. At which he laid his hand upon his Sword, but the Admiral coming up to him, he vowed and ſwore, 'That 'he neither would nor could put up ſo great an Indig-'nity, which he would never have taken from her Fa-'ther King Henry, much leſs from the hand of a Woman. And then in a great rage he withdrew from Court. Afterward the Lord Keeper ſent him ſeveral Letters, exhorting him to come and aſk the Queen pardon, whom if he had juſtly wronged he could not make her ſatisfaction, and if ſhe had wronged him yet, his Prudence, Duty, and Religion ſhould oblige him to ſubmit himſelf to ſo good a Queen, ſince there is a great inequality between a Prince and a Subject. Eſſex anſwered very haughtily to theſe Advices, and his Followers publiſhed his uſual expreſſions upon this account. As 'That he appealed for Juſtice from the 'Queen to God Almighty. That no Temp:ſt rageth 'more than the indignation of an Impotent Prince. 'That the Queens Heart was hardned; I know, ſaid 'he, what I have to do as I am a Subject, and what as 'I am an Earl, and Marſhal of England; I cannot live 'as a Servant and a Bondſlave; If I ſhould confeſs my 'ſelf guilty I ſhould both injure Truth, and God the 'Author of Truth; I have received a Dart through 'my whole body; It is abſolutely a Sin to ſerve, after 'having received ſo great a diſgrace; Cannot Princes 'Err? Cannot they Injure their Subjects? Is their 'Earthly power Infinite? 'Tis the Fool, ſays Solomon, 'that being ſtruck, laughs; They that receive benefit 'who by the Errors of Princes, let them bear the injuries of Princes; Let them believe the Queen's Power In-'finite believe that God is not Omnipotent; As for my 'part I being rent in pieces by injuries have long 'enough endured bitterneſs of Soul for them.

Yet

Yet after all, the Queens Paſſion for him ſoon admitted of an eaſie ſubmiſſion, ſo that he was pardoned and reſtored to favour by her who could be angry with him, but could never hate him, and ſoon after made him Lord Deputy of Ireland, (which was then in an ill condition by the Rebellion of the Natives) and impowered him with ſo ample a Commiſſion as was thought to be contrived by his Enemies, on purpoſe by inflaming his ambition, to procure his ruin, for he had liberty to pardon or puniſh the Iriſh Rebels ſuitable to his own Will: and Power to reward with Lands or Honours all he eſteem'd worthy. Theſe were ſuch Flowers of the Crown as they ſeemed deſigned by his Enemies to deck that head they meant to Sacrifice to their malice and revenge. Upon his arrival in Ireland the Earl ſpent ſo much time in ſubduing the petty Rebels, while he not only neglected the chief one Tyrone with whom inſtead of fighting he Treated, and made a Truce, that the Queen unſatisfied with his dilatory proceedings, firſt reproaches his Conduct, and then recalls him. Eſſex was much diſcontented, becauſe the Queen in her Letters had chid him for making the Earl of Southampton General of the Horſe, and that Cecil his Enemy was prefer'd to be Maſter of the Wards in his abſence. So that within a Month after he unexpectedly returned to England, having ſome thoughts to bring ſo great a force with him as to ſecure himſelf from any danger, but was diſſuaded therefrom by the Earl of Southampton and Sir Chriſtopher Blunt. So that only accompanied with ſix, he comes to the Court at Nonſuch to inform the Queen of the affairs of Ireland. In the way he met the Lord Grey of Wilton his chief Adverſary, whom one of his Attendants offered to kill to prevent him from doing further miſchief, but the Earl declaring his abhorrence of ſuch wickedneſs haſtned to Court and fell upon his Knees before the Queen, who had not the leaſt notice of his arrival; She entertained him with a ſhort Speech, but not with her wonted

wonted kindneſs, commanding him to go to his Chamber till he heard farther, and afterward ſhe committed him to the Cuſtody of the Lord Keeper. The Earl endeavoured to vindicate himſelf from all the aſperſions charged upon him, and among other expreſſions, 'Can I (ſays he) be ſuſpected to have any ill de'ſign upon mine Enemies, who only came with ſix 'to Court, but I abhor revenge, knowing who hath 'ſaid, Vengeance is mine and I will repay it? Shall 'my return be ſuſpected, who have worn out my body, 'waſted my Fortunes and lain a ſuppliant at my 'Princes feet? Shall I be ſuſpected, who have loſt 'my Father and my Brother in the ſervice of my 'Country, who for thirteen years have ſerved the 'Queen, and for ſeven have been of her Privy Coun'cil? Who for her ſake have been hated by all that 'are Enemies to her or her Religion? Who out of 'Duty to her have ſo expoſed my ſelf to their malice, 'that no Country but this, nor no Perſon but her ſelf, 'can ſecure me from falling by their bloody Machi'nations?

However his Enemies proceeded to Arraign his ill management of affairs in Ireland, in which Cecil inlarged himſelf with much elocution, while The Earl in cuſtody of the Lord Keeper ſeemed wholly devoted to pious meditations, and to have renounced all Worldly concernments with a religious contempt, in ſeveral Letters to his Friends: And likewiſe ſent ſuch humble and ſubmiſſive Letters to the Queen, that after ſix months Confinement under the Lord Keeper, ſhe admitted him to continue at his own Houſe under the inſpection of Richard Berkley, proteſting that ſhe did not deſign his ruin but amendment. But the Common People who entirely loved him thinking he had received much wrong, the Queen thought it neceſſary that he ſhould have his Cauſe heard before four Earls, two Lords, and four Judges, who having charged him with ſeveral miſdemeanors, and hearing his defence, they at length ſentenced him, To be degraded from being

being a Privy Councellor, ſuſpended from his Offices of Earl Marſhal and Maſter of the Ordinance, and to remain in Cuſtody during the Queens pleaſure. But ſtill the People had hopes of his Liberty and Reſtoration, becauſe of the extream favour the Queen had for him, who expreſly commanded the Commiſſioners not to deprive him of being Maſter of the Horſe, as if ſhe intended again to uſe his Service. The Earl ſtill expreſt great humility of mind, declaring both by Words and Letters, That he had taken leave of the World, that he had waſht away with his tears the heat of Ambition which was formerly in his Heart, and that he deſired nothing more but that her Majeſty would let her Servant depart in Peace. The Queen was ſo delighted to hear of theſe expreſſions, that ſhe inſtantly diſcharged him from all confinement: ſending him word, That he was now his own man, and admoniſhing him to make his own diſcretion his Keeper, but not to come near Her Perſon or Court. The Earl returned anſwer, 'That he humbly kiſt the 'hand and rod of the Queen which only corrected 'but not overthrew him, But that he was ſure he 'ſhould never live a happy day til he ſaw thoſe bleſſed 'Eyes of hers, which had hitherto been his Stars 'whereby he had ſail'd on happily, and had kept on 'in a direct courſe. That now he reſolved to repent 'in earneſt and to ſay with Nebuchadnezzar: My 'habitation ſhall be amongſt the wild Beaſts of the 'Field, that I may eat Hay like an Oxe, and be wa-'tered with the Dew of Heaven, till ſuch time as it 'ſhall pleaſe the Queen to reſtore me to my ſenſes 'again.

The Queen was extream glad when ſhe was told of it, and ſaid, 'I wiſh his deeds and words would agree 'together. He hath long tried my Patience, and I 'have pretty well tried his humility. Sure I am, my 'Father would never have born with his perverſneſs, 'but I will not look back, leaſt like Lot's Wife I be 'turned into a Pillar of Salt: All is not Gold that 'Gliſters.

'Gliſters. And ſo it happened, for the Earl had ſo far regained her favour as to preſume to beg the gainful Farm of the ſweet Wines, but the Queen would not give it him, ſaying, That ſhe would firſt know what it was worth, and that ſuch kindneſſes are not to be beſtowed blindfold. That they who intend to tame a Wild Horſe muſt keep him without food, That the more a corrupted and diſeaſed body is fed the more hurt it does. The Earl extreamly diſcontented at her anſwer and denial, and that ſhe had beſtowed the Farm upon others, began to hearken to the inſinuations of one Henry Cuffe, Sir Chriſtopher Blount, and Merrick his Steward, who charged him with Puſillanimity and Cowardice for making ſuch mean ſubmiſſions, telling him that the Queen, the Council, and his cruel Enemies had conſpired to make him a Beggar, ſo that he muſt hereafter live on the Almsbaſket, and the crums that fell from their Tables. That ſo being poor, neglected of the Queen, and forſaken of his Friends, he might become a ſcorn to his triumphant adverſaries. So they adviſed him that the only remedy againſt all theſe diſaſters was to make his own way to the Queen he having many of the Nobility, Gentry and Common People that would ſtand by him and his Cauſe. Theſe ſuggeſtions pierced his Soul daily, ſo that at length he gave himſelf up wholly to their directions, and entertained great numbers of Souldiers and other diſcontented and indigent People, keeping open Houſe to which there was extraordinary reſort; Of which the Queen having notice ſent the Lord Keeper and others to know the meaning of it, who coming thither found the Earls of Eſſex, Rutland, and Southampton among a confuſed number of People in the Yard. The Lord Keeper told the Earls, That the Queen deſired to know the deſign of this concourſe, promiſing that if any injury had been done him he ſhould be righted both in Law and Equity. The Earl anſwered aloud, That wait had been laid for his Life, and that ſome had been hired to Murther him

in

in his bed, That he had been Traiterously dealt with, and that his Letters had been Counterfeited both with his Hand and Seal. That they were therefore met together to defend themselves, and to preserve their Lives, since neither his Patience, nor his Miseries would appease the Malice of his Adversaries, unless they drank his blood also.

The Lord Keeper then desired him to give an account of his particular grievances, but the multitude cried out, 'Let us be gone, come, 'they abuse your patience, they betray you my Lord, kill them, kill 'them, away with the great Seal. Come away, make haste. The Lord Keeper and the other Lords of the Council going into the House with Essex; The People cried, Shut 'em up close, keep 'em fast, Whereupon the Earl bolted them into the room, saying, 'Be patient 'but a little my Lords, I must needs go to the City to take order with 'my Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs, and I will return instantly. The Lords being thus made Prisoners, the Earl issued forth with about 200 Followers without Order, among whom were the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Cromwell and some other of the Nobility, and coming into London, Essex cries out continually, 'For the Queen, for the 'Queen, there is wait laid for my Life, Exhorting the Citizens to take Arms and join with him, but notwithstanding their pretended kindness, not a man appeared for him. And soon after he was proclaimed Traytor, and the Earl of Nottingham marched with all speed against him, which so discouraged him, that casting away all hopes of success, he thought of returning home and making his Peace with the Lords which he had in Custody: But found his way Chained up at the West end of St. Pauls. Whereupon he drew his Sword to have forced his passage, but had three of his associates slain, besides two Citizens, and his own Hat shot through. So that making haste to Queen Hith, he there got a Boat wherein he returned to his own House, where he was soon Besieged both by Water and Land, and was advised by the Lord Sands to issue out upon his Enemies, telling him, 'The most valiant Counsels were the most safe, and that 'it was far more honourable to dye fighting with Noblemen, than by 'the hand of an Hangman. But Essex his Mind being as inconstant as his Fortune, he at length yields to the Admiral. And soon after he is brought to a Tryal for High Treason, with the Earl of Southampton, where they made the best defence they could, but at length were both condemned, the Lord Chief Justice Cork concluding his Sentence with this bitter Sarcasm against Essex; 'That it was to be 'wisht that this Robert should be last of the name of Earl of Essex, 'who affected to be Robert the First of that name King of England.

'Feb. 25. 1601. was the day appointed for his death, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower where sate several Lords, 'and Aldermen of London. The Earl mounting the Scaffold uncovered his Head, and lifting his Eyes to Heaven confest the many and

grievous sins of his youth, and especially the last, which he said was a bloody, crying, and contagious sin, for which he asked God and the Queen forgiveness, protesting he never had any ill design against her Person, wishing her long life and a happy reign. He thanked God that he was neither Atheist nor Papist, but put all his trust and hopes in the Merits of Christ; Beseeching God to strengthen him against the fears of death. Then he forgave the Executioner, and fitted his Neck to the Block. Intreating the Spectators to join in a short, but fervent prayer and ejaculation to God. He then repeated the Creed and the five first verses of the 51. Psalm, adding, Lord I submit humbly and obedient'y to my deserved punishment. Thou O Lord have mercy upon thy Servant that is cast down. Into thy hand O Lord I commit my Spirit. So laying down his Head, it was stricken off at the third blow, but the first took away all sense and motion. Sir Walter Raweigh his great Enemy was present, which many thought very unbecoming him. King Henry IV. of France and Marshal Byron his Prime Favourite, hearing the Christian manner of his death, scoft at him, saying, He died more like a Parson than a Souldier. But this very Byron was soon after beheaded by this very King for Treason, raving at his Death against his Master, and dying more like a madman than a Christian. And King Henry having renounced the Protestant Religion, was stab'd to Death in his Coach by a bloody Villain, without having hardly time to say, Lord have mercy upon him.

Thus was this noble E. snatcht out of the Arms of his Mistriss, and torn from the Hearts of the People that doted on him, and by the subtilty of his Enemies, brought to an untimely end in the sight of them both, who were quiet Spectators of his ruin in the 34 year of his Age. The tears of her Subjects for his loss, and the little kindness they discovered afterward for her, for signing the Warrant for his Death, together with her own passion for him, cast the Q into a deep melancholy, which was much augmented by the following Passage. When Essex was in greatest favour with her, which was on his return from Cales, he importuned her to give him some token of her affection, that might renew her favour to him, if at any time his Enemies should mis-represent him. Whereupon in much familiarity she gave him a Ring, which she vowed and swore should free him from all danger upon his sending it to her, even in the greatest distress. After his Commitment to the Tower, he sent this worthy Token to her Majesty by the Countess of Nottingham, but Sir Robert Cecil would not suffer her to deliver it. This made the Q think her self scorned, and that what his Enemies had reported he should say, was true, *That she grew old and doted, and that her mind was now as crooked as her body.* Which she thought so be high Blasphemy against such a divine beauty as her Flatterers persuaded her she was. But the Lady Nottingham con-

ing to her death-bed, and finding (by the daily ſorrow the Q. expreſt for the loſs of Eſſex) that ſhe was the principal Agent in his deſtruction, could not be at reſt till ſhe had ſent for her and diſcovered all, imploring mercy from God and Forgiveneſs from her Earthly Soveraign. The relation of which ſo inraged the Q. that ſhaking her as ſhe lay in her Bed, ſhe ſaid ſhe would never forgive her, and ſent her with moſt fearful Curſes to the Judgment Seat of God. Not long after the Queen's ſickneſs appeared Mortal. For having thus unfortunately cut off her endeared Favourite, ſhe took comfort in nothing beſides. But upon all occaſions of ſigning Pardons would ſay to her Courtiers, *You can beg Pardons for theſe wretches, but could never ſpeak a word for the gallant Eſſex, whoſe loſs to my ſelf and the Nation can never be recovered.* Some thought Eſſex would have diſcovered ſome ſecret commerce between the Q. and himſelf at his Death, but others were of opinion, that nothing Criminal ever paſſed between them, only a generous kindneſs that ſhe had for a man, noble, lovely, and every way accompliſht. To conclude, her happineſs and her power both ſeemed to be buried in the Tomb of Eſſex, whoſe abſence with continued ſighs and tears ſhe bemoaned for ſome few months, and then was likewiſe laid in her Grave. The E. of Southampton was pardoned, but Sir Chriſt. Blount, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Gill. Merick and Henry Cuffe, were condemned and executed for this Inſurrection. And the Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Rawleigh, profeſſed Enemies to Eſſex, and no mean inſtruments in his deſtruction, fell into a Treaſon of a like depth with his in the Reign of K. James I. Gray and Cobham dying miſerably in Priſon, and Rawleigh being beheaded at Tower-hill.

Remarks on the Life, Actions and Fatal Fall of George Villers *Duke of* Buckingham, *Favourite to King* James I. *and King* Charles I.

THIS Favourite roſe upon the Fall of the E. of Somerſet, upon whom K. James had heaped many honours, advancing him from a Knight to Viſcount Rocheſter, Privy Counſellor, E. of Somerſet, and L. Chamberlain. But his Glory was ſoon overclouded, for having married the Counteſs of Eſſex, who had been divorced from her Husband the Son of the preceding Favourite, that unfortunate Knight Sir Tho. Overbury, for ſpeaking againſt the Match was by their procurement poyſoned in the Tower, for

which the Earl and Countess were both Condemned but Pardoned, and banisht the Court.

K. James who could not live without a bosom Favourite cast his Eye upon George Villers, a young Gentleman of a fine shape, second Son to Sir George Villers of *Brooksby* in Leicestershire, with whom the K. was so taken, finding him a man of quick understanding, and fit to make a Courtier, that he advanced him by degrees in honour next to himself, making him first a Knight, then Gentleman of his Bedchamber, Viscount, Master of the Horse, Lord Admiral, Earl Marquess, and lastly D. of *Buckingham*. And now lying in the King's Bosom, every man paid Tribute to his Smiles, and he managed all affairs, putting men in or out of Office according to his pleasure. Yet his Mother who was a Papist having a great hand in all business, and a great power over her Son, directed him in all matters of Profit and Concernment, and was addressed to first, in order to procure any favour from him. Which caused Gondemar the Spanish Ambassador to write merrily to his Master, 'That there was never more hope of England's 'Conversion to Rome than now, for there were more Prayers and 'Oblations offered here to the Mother than to the Son. He Married the Earl of Rutlands Daughter, the greatest Match in the Kingdom, who pretended to be a zealous Protestant, but his Mother and the Jesuits reduced her to the Popish Religion, so that between a Mother and a Wife Buckingham himself grew very indifferent being neither Papist nor Protestant.

K. James affected the name of a Peace-maker, and designing the general quiet of Europe and the reconciling all parties, he professed that if the Papists would renounce their K. killing Doctrine, and some other gross errors, he was willing to meet them half way. And being zealous also to maintain the height of Regal Majesty, after the death of Prince *Henry*, he resolved to match his Son Prince Charles with some Princess of most high Descent, though of a different Religion. And there having been a Treaty of Marriage between P. Henry and a Daughter of Spain, wherein the Spaniards deluded him with their accustomed gravity and formality, he now set his thoughts upon a Match with France, which the Spanish King doubting would be to his disadvantage, he made new Overtures for a Marriage with his Daughter to Sir John Digby the King's Ambassador there, though with as little sincerity as before. And at length Articles were agreed on and signed by K. James, whereby the Children of this Marriage were not to be constrained to be Protestants, nor to lose their right of succession if they were Catholicks. The Pope's Dispensation was to be procured, the new Queen was to have Popish Chaplains, Priests, Confessors and all other Privileges. The K. was mightily pleased with this Alliance, but the People as much displeased, who had

had not forgot the intended cruelty of 1588. and dreaded the consequence of this Popish Contract. But the K. not thinking that the business went on with that speed he desired, sends the Prince and Buckingham to Spain to consummate the Marriage, where he is received with all manner of magnificence by that King, and universal joy of that People, in hope the Prince would turn Catholick, they generally discoursing, That he came thither on purpose to become a Christian. Neither were any endeavours wanting to seduce him, Pope Gregory writing a smooth Letter to him: Yea condescended to write another to Buckingham his Guide and Familiar to incline him to the Romish Religion. The Prince returned an answer to the Pope's Letter, and among other expressions says,

'Your Holines's conjecture of our desire to contract an Alliance 'and Marriage with a Catholick Family and Princess, is agree-'able both to your Wisdom and Charity, for we would never de-'sire so vehemently to be joined in a strict and indissoluble Bond 'with any Mortal whatsoever whose Religion we hated. For it 'is very certain, I shall never be so extreamly affectionate to any 'thing in the World, as to endeavour Alliance with a Prince that 'hath the same apprehension of the True Religion with my self. 'Therefore I intreat your Holiness to believe, that I have been al-'ways far from incouraging Novelties, or to be a Partizan of any 'Faction against the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion [illegible] 'on the contrary I have sought all occasions to take away the sus-'picion that might rest upon me. And I will imploy my self to 'the time to come to have but One Religion, and one Faith, see-'ing that we all believe in one Jesus Christ. Having resolved in 'my self to spare nothing that I have in this World, and to suffer 'all manner of discommodities, even to the hazard of my Estate 'and Life, for a thing so pleasing to God. I pray God to give 'your Holiness a blessed Health here, and his Glory after so much 'Travel which yor Holiness takes within his Church.

After a while the Match was concluded in England, and the Articles sworn to by K. James, and some private ones much in favour of the Papists. And the King was so transported with the assurance of it, that he was heard to say, 'Now all the Devils in 'Hell cannot hinder it. But a Starder by said to one of his Attendants, 'That there was never a Devil now left in Hell, for they 'were all gone into Spain to make up the Match. And indeed the Spirit of the Nation was so averse to this Union, that they boldly vented their Sentiments both with their Tongues and Pens: And among others, Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury writ a very warm Letter to the K. against a Toleration of Popery, which was one of the Articles agreed to. The Treaty was likewise Signed and Sealed by the K. of Spain and the Prince, Who also obliged, himself

himself, That as often as the Infanta pleased, he would hearken to such Catholick Divines, as she should appoint to debate matters of Religion with him, but would never dissuade her from her own Religion, and would take care to abrogate all the Laws made against Catholicks in three years.

But after all, this Match proved abortive, and the Prince and Duke returning home again, the K. declaring, that unless the Emperor would restore the Palatinate taken from his Son in Law the Prince Palatine, he would proceed no farther. Which the K. of Spain declining to be concerned in, the Treaty was totally dissolved, to the great joy of all good Protestants.

The Duke gave the Parliament an account of the whole Transaction, wherein he severely reflected upon the unfair and delusory practices of the Spanish Court, which so incensed the Spanish Ambassadour, that he sent to the K. to inform him, that the Duke had some desperate design against his Life, and that the least he could do against him, would be to confine him to some of his Country Houses during Life, the Prince being now fully ripe for Government. This raised some jealousie in the old King, so that the next time he saw Buckingham, he cried, 'Ah Stenny, Stenny (which was the Familiar name he always called him) 'wilt thou 'kil me? At which the Duke was at first amazed, but finding afterward that a Spanish Jesuit was the Informer, he told the King, It was only their malice against him for breaking the match, protesting his Innocency. The *K.* was satisfied the Ambassador was his Enemy, and that such an attempt could never be performed without the consent of the Prince, whom the Ambassador reflected upon, though he did not directly accuse him, and He thought it so horrid and unnatural a design, that he passed it by without any further notice: But only in sending to the K. of Spain to desire justice of him against his Ambassadors false Accusation, which he said wounded his Sons honour through Buckingham's sides. Soon after the Ambassador was recalled, and for Forms sake had a little check given him, but was in as much favour as ever.

Thus was this Information waved, and the Duke so far reestablished in favour, that he doubted not but to crush all that opposed him, and charged Cranfield Earl of Middlesex in Parliament, with several mismanagements of the Revenue, the Prince who was Buckingham's right hand joining with him in it. The King being at New-Market, to free himself from the noise of business, hearing of it, writ to the Prince, 'That he should not take 'part with any Faction in Parliament against the Earl of Middlesex, but be so indifferent that both parties might seek to him, 'for if he bandied to remove old Servants, the time would come 'that others would do as much by him. This wise advice declared Buckingham to be a little declining in the King's favour, or the

the King in his. For if the King knew Buckingham to be the chief Profecutor, it lookt ill for the King to plead for him, and if not, there was not that intimacy between them as formerly. However Cranfield's Actions were proved to be ſo diſhonourable, that he was fined ſeverely, and made uncapable of ever ſitting in the Houſe of Peers for the future.

Soon after the King died at Theobald's of a Tertian Ague as was then ſaid, and King Charles who in his Fathers Life time was linkt to the Duke, now continued to receive him into an admired intimacy and dearneſs, making him Partaker of all his Counſels and Cares, and chief Conductor of his Affairs, an example rare in this Nation to be the Favourite of two ſucceeding Princes: But was not ſo fortunate as to Parliaments, for though the laſt in King James's time had approved of his Conduct in breaking the Spaniſh Match, yet the firſt Parliament of this King drawing up a *Remonſtrance* of their Grievances, inveighed againſt him in their Speeches, as the chief occaſion of all miſcarriages in Government. As the loſs of the Royalty of the Narrow Seas, by his miſmanagement of the Office of Lord High Admiral; His inriching himſelf and kindred to the impoveriſhing of the King and Crown. His ill beſtowing of Offices of Truſt and Profit. The increaſe of Popery occaſioned by the Dukes Mother and Father in Law, both Papiſts. The ſcandalous ſale of all Honours, Offices and Imployments Eccleſiaſtical, Military and Civil. And his ſtaying at home (though Admiral) when he ſhould have commanded the Fleet, which miſcarried by his being abſent. In the ſame Parliament likewiſe, the Earl of Briſtol accuſed the Duke of High Treaſon, and the Duke charged him with the ſame. One of the Articles againſt Buckingham was, 'That the Pope being informed of his inclination to the Catholick Religion, ſent the 'Duke a Bull in Parchment, to perſeade and incourage him to 'pervert the Prince of Wales. After this the Parliament proceeded to Impeach the Duke upon 13 Articles of High Treaſon and other high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, one of which was his giving Potions and applying Plaiſters to the late King James in his ſickneſs, without the advice and contrary to the directions of his ſworn Phyſicians, from whence proceeded drowthſ, raving, fainting, and an intermitting Pulſe, which the King was ſo ſenſible of, that being told by his Phyſitians that his Diſtemper increaſed by cold, he replied, 'No, no, it proceeds from that which I have 'from Buckingham. The King was ſo angry at theſe proceedings having cautioned them from medling with the Duke, that he committed Sir Dudly Digges, who made the Prologue, and Sir John Eliot the Epilogue of his Impeachment, both priſoners to the Tower. After which the Duke gave in an anſwer to all the Articles charged againſt him, as well of miſimploying the Ships

of Rochel, as about the death of K. James, wherein he acknowledges, he did give the Potion to the King, but it was by his own Order, in presence of the King's Physitians, who did not seem to dislike it, some of them having tasted it. And the Duke acquainting the King that some had reported that this Drink had made him worse, and that he had given it him without advice, the K. answered, 'They are worse than Devils that say it. However the Parliament proceeded with an Address to the K. for removing the D. from his Council and Presence, and the House of Lords sent four Peers to intreat him to give audience to their whole House upon this Subject. But the K. replied, That his resolution was to hear no motion for that purpose, but that he would Dissolve the Parliament, which he did instantly by Commission, which gave occasion to the People to utter their minds freely upon this Transaction.

After this the King declares VVar against France, and a Fleet being provided, and an Army raised, Buckingham is made both Admiral and General, and lands his Army at the Isle of Rhee, notwithstanding the opposition of the French both Horse and Foot, whom the English defeated. From whence they marched to St. Martin's, and blockt up the Citadel. But notwithstanding our Army at Land and 100 Sail of Ships at Sea, yet the French got into the Harbour with relief of Provisions; and afterward carried so great a supply into the Citadel, that the Duke who had lain idle for many VVeeks, being at length prevailed with to Storm it, was forced to retire, and in his retreat had a great number of his Souldiers kill'd and drowned, returning home with great dishonour. Upon the return of the Fleet, the Cry of the Nation was so great, both for the Disgrace and the Seamen's want of Pay, that the King was obliged to call a Parliamene, which being met, the Duke is declared the Grievance of Grievances, and the Cause of all the miseries of the Kingdom. But the King Proroguing the Parliament before they could proceed against him, in the mean time Dr. Lamb the Duke's Creature is murthered in the City out of hatred to his Master. And the Town of Rochel (who had declared for the English when they were there) being now closely besieged by the French. The King had prepared a Fleet under the command of the Duke to relieve it, who being advanced as far as Portsmouth to go aboard, was slain by one Lieutenant Felton in his own Lodgings, by one blow with a Knife under the left Rib and up to the Heart, leaving the Knife in his Body, and got away undiscovered. In his fall to the Ground, the Duke was heard to say, The Villain has killed me. Company coming in, and finding him weltring in his Blood, began to inquire for the Murtherer, when Felton immediately stept out and said, 'I am the man that have done the deed, let no man suffer that is innocent.

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When he gave the fatal blow, Felton cry'd, The Lord have mercy upon thy Soul. Which the Duke had not time to pronounce himself. Felton had a Paper sticking to the Lining of his Hat wherein he had written as followeth: 'I would have no man 'commend me for doing it, but rather discommend themselves, 'for if God had not taken away their Hearts for their Sins, he had 'not gone so long unpunisht. The man is cowardly, base in mind, 'opinion, and deserves not the name of a Gentleman or Souldier, 'that is unwilling to Sacrifice his Life for the Honour of God, his 'King, and Country. Subscrib'd John Felton. He confest to the Council, that the motives to it were his want of pay, his being disappointed of a Captains place which the Duke promised him, Together with the late Remonstrance of the House of Commons against him. A. B. Laud askt him, whether the Puritans did not incite him to it, which he denied, or any body else. Well then said Laud, we must make you confess your Accomplices on the Rack, If you should, said Felton, it may be the torment would make me accuse you as soon as another. So he was tried for murther, and suffered very penitently at Tyburn, and his Body was hung in Chains at Portsmouth in 1628.

An Ingenious Writer is much offended with Sir Henry Wotton, for making a Parallel between the Earl of Essex aforementioned and the Duke of Buckinghim, (to be found in his remains) which he says is much to the disadvantage of Essex, who besides his last action, never did any thing so ingrateful as might make him fear the anger, or beg the favour of a Parliament, much less owe his Life to the Dissolution of one. He died like a Christian. He was no instrument of Tyranny and Oppression, his memory being still valuable among the People. Whereas the Duke's retains a contrary Tincture, nor can his bounty to his Friends and Servants expunge his faults, because the Money was drained either from the People, the Publick Treasury, or from the general safety of the Nation. Whereas Essex obliged his Confidents out of his own store, or by such innocent ways as the Subject had no cause to repine at. His natural parts were as great, and his Learning and Birth greater than the Dukes. Nor can his last inconsiderate action that rather deserves the Title of a Riot than Treason, come up to so great an ingratitude and indignity to the Nation as Buckingham's proceedings at Rochel, wherein the Duke shewed no less folly in procuring so great a hatred among the People, than Essex did in misapplying their love. And if his Picture be exact, Essex was as handsome as he, which was the chief cause of Villers advancement. Only in this Essex came short, in having a Mistress that would attend to reason, whether it came from friendship or malice; Whereas the Dukes fortune depended on two Princes, that in reference to their own weakness or his strength,

ſtrength, remained deaf to all Complaints but what were made by him or his Creatures, under pain of his high Diſpleaſure, which was uſually much heavier than the King's. Concerning their Deaths, (ſaith my Author) I can atteſt, the Duke's did occaſion no leſs joy, than the other did ſorrow, though the death of Queen Elizabeth her ſelf be put into the Scale. Nor was the Hangman willing to be hired to cut off Eſſex, whereas Felton ſeemed to be inſpired with ſome Dæmon, if not the Genius of our Nation.

Remarks on the Life, Actions and Fatal Fall of Thomas Wentworth *Earl of* Straford, *Favourite to King* Charles I.

THIS great Favourite was born in Chancery Lane London, his Mother coming caſually to the City, but deſcended from an antient Family at Wentworth VVoodhouſe in Yorkſhire. He was educated in St. John's College in Oxford, whereby he was ſo accompliſht, that his endowments ſoon advanced him to be a Member of the Houſe of Commons, wherein he appeared very zealous for the Liberties of his Country, and that often with ſo much ſtrength of reaſon, that his Sentiments prevail'd for or againſt the Cauſe he managed. Of which I ſhall give a few inſtances.

In the Parliament 3. Charles I. Upon a debate on the Grievances of the Kingdom, by quartering Souldiers, Loans, Benevolence, Privy Seals, and Impriſoning Gentlemen that refuſed to lend Money on that account, and were refuſed to be Bailed upon there Habeas Corpus, he ſpake thus. 'Surely theſe illegal ways are puniſhments and marks of indignation, The raiſing of Loans, ſtrengthned by Commiſſions, with unheard of Inſtructions and Oaths, and the Billetting of Souldiers by Deputy Lieutenants have been ſuch as if they could have perſuaded Chriſtian Princes, that the right of Empires had been to take away mens Properties by ſtrong hands. Theſe Projectors have introduced a Privy Council, who have raviſht at once the Spheres of allantient Government, impriſoning us without either Bail or Bond. They have taken from us, what? What ſhall I ſay indeed? What have they left us. The remedy I ſhall propound is, To vindicate our antient vital Liberties, by reinforceing the Laws made by our Anceſtors, by giving ſuch a Character of them as no Licentious Spirit ſhall ever dare enter upon them hereafter. Let us ſecure our ſelves, and our freedom from impriſonment. Les us ſecure our Goods that no Levies be made but by Parliament, no Billeting

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'of Souldiers. If we are not ſecured in theſe, we cannot give ſup-
'plies. ----I cannot forget that duty I owe to my Country, and
'unleſs our Liberties be ſecured, I incline to look upon the ſtate
'of our Country whether it be fit to give or no. Are we come to an
'end of our Countries Liberties? Are we ſecured for time future?
'----We are accountable to a Publick Truſt, and ſince there hath
'been a Publick Violation of the Laws by the King's Miniſters,
'nothing will ſatisfie but a Publick Amends, and our deſire to
'vindicate the Subject's Right is no more than what is laid down
'in former Laws. ---- Let us be ſure that the Subject's Liberties
'go hand in hand with the ſupply, and not to paſs the one, till
'we have good Ground and a Bill for the other. Upon the Petition of Right when the Houſe of Lords would have had this addition to, 'We preſent this our Humble Petition to your Ma-
'jeſty, with the care not only of preſerving our own Liberties,
'but with due regard to leave intire that Sovereign Power where-
'with your Majeſty is truſted for the Protection, Safety and Hap-
'pineſs of the People, Sir Tho. Wentworth ſpake thus: 'If we
'admit of this Addition, we ſhall leave the Subjects worſe than
'we found them, and we ſhall have little thanks for our labour
'when we come home. Let us leave all Power to his Majeſty to
'puniſh Malefactors, but theſe Laws are not acquainted with So-
'veraign Power. We deſire no new thing, nor do we offer to in-
'trench on his Majeſties Prerogative, but we may not recede from
'this Petition either in part or in whole.

The King hearing of his ability and underſtanding, uſed all means to gain him to himſelf, by beſtowing of Titles of Honour and Places of Truſt upon him, Creating him Viſcount Went-worth, Earl of Strafford, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whereby he made him wholly his own. In Ireland he was very active in augmenting the King's Revenues, and advancing the Royal Authority by all ways within his Power; And upon his return into England, he adviſed the King to go into Scotland, and ſettle the Peace of that Kingdom by his Coronation there, he having intelligence that if it were defer'd any longer, the Scots might perhaps incline to Elect another King. Upon the troubles that roſe ſoon after there, on the account of impoſing the Common Prayer upon them, and the King reſolving to raiſe an Army to reduce them, but doubting the Parliament would not ſupply him, the Lords told the King that they would ingage their own Credits to forward the buſineſs, and the Earl of Strafford for the incouragement ſubſcribed 20000 l. other Noblemen following his example conformable to their Eſtates, and ſome of the Judges contributed largely.

April 13. 1639. a Parliament being aſſembled, the Earl of Strafford was led into the Houſe of Peers by two Noblemen, to

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give an account of his proceedings in Ireland, having there obtained the Grant of four Subsides, for maintaing 10000 Foot and 1500 Horse. Implicitely hinting thereby that they should proportion their Supplies accordingly. But the Parliament doubting that the Irish Forces might indanger Religion, and seeming to allow the justness of the Scots Cause, and of the good that might be obtained by favouring them in this Conjuncture, the King doubting they might vote against the War with the Scots, whom he resolved to Treat severely for not complying with his Will and Pleasure, he thereupon suddenly Dissolves them, to the great discontent of the People, who for eleven years past, durst scarce mention the name of a Parliament.

Being hereby disappointed of a supply, the King sends to the Citizens of London to lend Money, and to all Knights and Gentlemen who held Lands of the Crown, to provide Men, Horses and Arms for his Assistance. The Citizens generally refused, pleading poverty and want of Trade, but by the assistance of the Gentry, an Army was raised with great celerity, of which the Earl of Strafford was made Lieutenant General, and the King commanded in Chief. The Scots having notice of these preparations, speedily raised an Army, with which they marched into England to make this the Seat of War. The Lord Conway doubting they would take in Newcastle, drew off 3000 Foot and about 1200 Horse to secure the Pass at Newburn. Lesly the Scots General marching forward sent a Trumpeter to the Lord Conway, to desire leave to pass to the King with their Petition, which being denied, they fell upon the English and kill'd 300 of them. Which being accounted an unhappy Omen, several of the Lords Petitioned the King for a Parliament, which was seconded by another from the Scots, and a third from the City of London. At length the King consented to it, having first, by advice of the Peers, consented to a Treaty with the Scots at Rippon, they refusing to send their Commissioners to York, alledging, That the Lieutenant of Ireland resided there, who proclaimed them Rebels in Ireland, before the King had done it in England, and against whom as a chief Incendiary they intended to complain in the next Parliament.

For the Parliament meeting Nov. 3. 1640. the Scotch Commissioners coming to London, had many private Conferences with some of the House of Commons, and it was concluded that the Earl of Strafford should be immediately Impeached at his first coming into the House of Lords, which was done accordingly, and thereupon he was instantly taken into Custody. and in March following he was brought to his Trial in Westminster Hall. The King, Queen and Prince were present in a private Closet, where they could here all, but were seen of none.

And

And then Mr. Pym Impeached the Earl of twenty eight Articles of High Treaſon in the name of the Commons of England, charging him, That he had Trayterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Government of England and Ireland, and to introduce an Arbitrary Tyrannical Government, by Trayterouſly aſſuming to himſelf Regal Power over the Laws, Liberties, Perſons, Lands and Goods of his Majeſties Subjects. Had countenanced and encouraged Papiſts: Had maliciouſly endeavoured to ſtir up enmity and hoſtility between the Subjects of England and Scotland: Had wilfully betrayed the King's Subjects to death by a diſhonourable retreat at Newburn, that by the effuſion of blood, and the diſhonour and loſs of New-Caſtle, the People of England might be ingaged in a National and Irreconcileable quarrel with the Scots. And that to ſecure himſelf from being queſtioned for theſe and other Trayterous Courſes he had laboured to ſubvert the Rights of Parliament, and to incenſe his Majeſty againſt them by falſe and malicious ſlanders, and that upon the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, he did treacherouſly and wickedly counſel and adviſe His Majeſty to this effect, That having tryed the affections of his People, he was looſe and abſolved from all rules of Government, and was to do every thing that power would admit. Since having tried all ways he was refuſed, ſo that he would now be acquitted both by God and Man. And that he had an Army in Ireland (meaning the Army of Papiſts who were his Dependants) which the King might imploy to reduce this Kingdom to his obedience. That he falſly, maliciouſly and treacherouſly declared before ſome of the Privy Council, That the Parliament of England had forſaken the King, and that in denying to ſupply him, they had given him the advantage to ſupply himſelf by ſuch ways as he ſhould think fit, and that he was not to ſuffer himſelf to be maſtred by the ſlowardneſs of the People. That he was very rigorous in levying the illegal Impoſition of Shipmoney, and Impriſoned divers Perſons for not levying the ſame. And a Great Loan of an hundred thouſand pound being demanded of the City, and ſome refuſing to lend, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were required to return their names, which they with humility refuſing to do, the Earl ſaid, That they deſerved to be put to fine and ranſom, and to be made examples, and laid by the heels, and that it would never be well till ſome of the Aldermen were hanged up. That by wicked Counſel he had brought on the King exceſſive charges, and then adviſed him to approve of two dangerous Projects. To ſeize the Money in the Mint, and to imbaſe his own Coin with a mixture of Braſs. That he had declared that Ireland was a conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleaſed, and ſpeaking of the Charters of former Kings of England, he ſaid, They were nothing

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worth, and that he would neither have Law nor Lawyers queſtion or diſpute any of his Orders, and that he would make all Ireland know that ſo long as he had the Government there, any Act of State there made, ſhould be as binding to the Subject as an Act of Parliament. That he did not only Tyrannize over the Bodies but over the Conſciences of Men, by forming and impoſing a new and unuſual Oath, which becauſe ſome Scots refuſed to take, he fined and baniſhed great numbers, and called all that Nation Rebels and Traytors, and ſaid if ever he returned home from England he would root them out both ſtock and branch.

Theſe and a multitude of other crimes, he was charged to have committed both in Ireland and England. Many of which he confeſt to be true, but not with their aggravations. Some he denied, and others he extenuated, and pleaded that though the whole were proved againſt him, yet it did not amount to Treaſon. Some of the Lords and Commons were of the ſame opinion. Others urged, That though he were not guilty of any of the Offences declared to be Treaſon by the 25 of Edward III. yet ſo great were his crimes that (according to that Statute which impowers the Parliament to declare what is Treaſon) they ought to be declared Treaſon. At length it was concluded to proceed againſt him by way of Attainder, which was much oppoſed likewiſe, it being alleaged, That no man could be convict of Treaſon but by the Letter of the Statute, and the Lord Digby a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and an earneſt Proſecutor of the Earl ſpake thus of it, 'Mr. Speaker, I am ſtill of the ſame opi-'nion and affections to the Earl Strafford, I confidently believe 'him the moſt dangerous Miniſter, and the moſt inſupportable 'to free Subjects that can be found. I believe his practices as 'high and as Tyrannical as any Subject ever ventured on, and 'the malignity of them highly aggravated by thoſe rare abilities 'of his, whereof God hath given him the uſe, but the Devil the 'application. I believe him ſtill, the grand Apoſtate to the 'Commen Wealth, who muſt not expect to be pardoned in this 'World, till he be diſpatcht to the other. I do not ſay but his 'Crimes may repreſent him a man as worthy to dye, and perhaps 'worthier than many a Traytor, and may juſtly direct us to enact 'that they ſhall be Treaſon for the future, but God keep me from 'giving Judgment of Death on any man, and to ruin his Poſterity 'upon a Law made after the Crime is committed. And by any Law yet made, I do not believe he is guilty of Treaſon.

However the Bill of Attainder paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, and Mr. Sir John's endeavoured to ſatisfie the Lords in the reaſonableneſs thereof, to induce them to Paſs it. For ſaid he, though the proofs at the Trial were inſufficient, and nothing but Legal Evidence can prevail in Judicature, yet by this way both

Lords

Lords and Commons might proceed by the light of their own Consciences, although no evidence were given at all. And after many Aggravations of the Earl's Offences in subverting our Laws, as he affirmed, he concluded thus. 'He that would not have had 'others have any Law, should have none himself: It is true, we 'give Law to Hares and Dee, because they be *Beasts of Chase*. 'It was never accounted cruelty or foul play to knock Foxes 'or Wolves on the Head as they can be found, because these 'be Beast of Prey. The Warrenner sets Traps for Powl-cats 'and other Vermine for preservation of the Warren. The Lords after this Speech shewing a greater propensity toward the Earl's condemnation than before, the King having an account of it, came next day to the House of Peers, and sending for the House of Commons told them,

'That Judgment being ready to pass on the Earl of Strafford 'he thought it necessary to declare his Conscience therein, they 'being sensible that he had been present at the hearing this great 'Cause from one end to the other, and yet that in his Conscience he could not condemn him of High Treason; assuring them, 'That he never intended to bring an Irish Army into England, 'nor was ever advised by any body so to do. That there was 'never any debate before him of the disloyalty of his English 'Subjects, nor had he ever any suspicion of them. That he was 'never Counselled by any to alter a Law, or any of the Laws of England, since if any durst have been so impudent he should have 'made them examples to Posterity. That he would be rightly 'understood, for though in Conscience he could not condemn 'him of High Treason, yet he could not clear him of such Misdemeanors, as he did not think him fit to serve him or the Commonwealth hereafter, in any Place or Trust, no not so much 'as a Constable, and therefore he hoped they would find out a 'way to satisfie Justice and their own fears, and not oppress his 'Conscience, since neither fear nor any other respect whatsoever, 'should ever make him act against it.

This Speech relisht so ill with the two Houses, that few of them attended next day being Sunday May 2. on the solemnity of the King's Eldest Daughter Mary being Married to the Prince of Orange. On Monday five or six thousand Apprentices and other tumultuous Citizens came down to Westminster to demand justice against the Earl of Strafford, and Petitions subscribed with thousands of hands were presented to both Houses about redressing Grievances. Soon after the Lords passed the Bill of Attainder, but the King seemed very averse to Pass it, and consulted both with Lawyers and Divines of the Lawfulness thereof. The Bishop of Lincoln urged, That the opinion of the Judges and the Judgment of the Parliament thereupon ought much to sway with him,

him, conſidering the terrible conſequences of an inraged multitude, and that no other expedient could be found out to appeaſe the People. But the main ſatisfaction of the King's Conſcience it is ſaid proceeded from a Letter ſent to him by the Earl, to this purpoſe. 'Sir, to ſet your Majeſties Conſcience at Liberty, 'I do moſt humbly beſeech you, for preventing of ſuch miſchief, 'as may happen by your refuſal, to paſs the Bill, by this means 'to remove, (I cannot ſay this accurſed, but I confeſs) this unfortunate thing out of the way, toward that bleſſed agreement 'which I truſt God ſhall forever eſtabliſh betwixt you and your 'Subjects. Sir, my conſent herein ſhall more acquit you to God 'than all the World can do beſides, &c.

The next day the King Signed a Commiſſion to ſeveral Lords to paſs the Bill which was done accordingly. But being unwilling to part with his indeared Favourite, he ſent a Letter by the Prince of Wales to the Houſe of Lords, that mercy might be extended to him as to Life, but that he might fulfil the natural courſe of his Days in cloſe Impriſonment. But the Lords ſent twelve of their number to the King to ſatisfie him that it could not be done with ſafety, neither to himſelf nor his Queen. If it cannot ſays he, then *Fiat Juſtitia*, Let Juſtice be done.

May 12. 1641. The Earl was conveyed from the Tower to the Scaffold erected on the Hill with a ſufficient Guard, and Archbiſhop Uſher to aſſiſt him, where it is ſaid he deſigned to have made a Speech already prepared, to this effect. 'People of my 'Native Country, I wiſh my own or your Charity had made me 'fit to call you Friends. It ſhould appear by your concourſe and 'gazing Aſpects that I am now the only prodigious Meteor, toward which you direct your wandring Eyes. I would to God 'my Blood would cure your ſad hearts of all your Grievances. 'Though every drop thereof were a Soul on which a Life depended, I could tender it with as much alacrity as ſome, nay moſt of 'you are come to triumph in my final expiration. In regard I 'have been by you my Native Country (whoſe wiſdom and 'juſtice in reſpect of the generality of it, is no way queſtionable) voted to this untimely end, I have not one ſyllable to ſay 'in juſtification of my ſelf or thoſe actions for which I ſuffer. 'Only in excuſe of both, give me leave to ſay my too much zeal 'to do my Maſter ſervice made me abuſe his Royal authority, 'and howſoever I have been moſt unfortunate, yet at all times 'a Favourite in the proſecution of my Places and Offices, as I ſhall 'anſwer at the dreadful Tribunal whereunto your juſt anger 'hath, before nature, doomed me, my intents were fairer than 'my actions, but God knows the overgreatneſs of my Spirits ſeverity in my Government, the Witchcraft of Authority, and 'Flattery of many to ſharpen it, are but ill Interpreters of my 'intentions,

'intentions, which I have no argument to induce you to believe
'but that it proceeds from a dying man. It would too much hin-
'der your longing expectation of my shameful death to give an
'account of my Arraignment and Attainder, for I have been, and
'whilst I breath am, the Pestilence which rages through your
'Minds, your Estates and Trades, and you will read the Bills of
'your losses though the disease that brought the destruction be
'removed, &c.

He then declared, That he forgave all the World, and acquitted them of his death: And beseeched the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them. That he was never against Parliaments as judging them the most happy constitution, and the best means to make the King and People happy. That it was a great comfort to him, that the King did not think he merited so heavy a punishment as this. So wishing all prosperity to the Kingdom, he addreſt himself to his Prayers, and then laying down his Head on the Block, it was cut off at one blow. Instead of a Character of him, I shall conclude with his Epitaph written by Mr. John Cleaveland.

Here lies Wise and Valiant Dust
Huddled up 'twixt Fit and Just:
Strafford who was hurried hence,
'Twixt Treason and Convenience.
He spent his Life here in a Mist,
A Papist, yet a Calvinist,
His Princes neareſt joy and grief
He had, yet wanted all relief.
The prop and ruin of the State,
The Peoples violent love and hate,
One in extreams lov'd and abhorr'd,
Riddles, lies here. And in a word,
Here lies blood, and let it lye
Speechless still, and never cry.

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